THE NATION
1865 Centennial Year 1965
January 25, 1965 . . 35c

THE SOVEREIGN STATE OF COMSAT

Herbert I. Schiller

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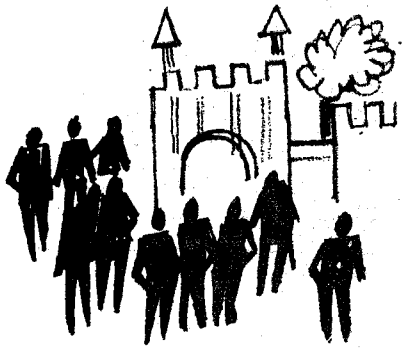
Why the Students Revolt

Bill Ward



Birth Control: End of a Taboo

David Burnham

REVIEWS

'THE FEDERAL BULLDOZER': Scott Greer

PARKS, GARDENS AND PUBLIC SPACE
Frederick Gutheim

RAY BRADBURY'S THEATRE: John J. McLaughlin

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LETTERS

Prince Sihanouk on Neutrality

Phnom Penh, Cambodia

Dear Sirs: I have just noted with greatest interest the editorial, "Cambodia, China and the United States," published in the Nov. 23 issue of your magazine. Allow me to express my warm appreciation of your analysis of the situation in this part of the world, as well as my sincere thanks for your understanding of our politics and problems.

I feel I must, nevertheless, state as clearly as possible the evolution of our neutrality during the last years. In fact, for some years, Cambodia dreamed of being as neutral as the Swiss and of maintaining the friendliest relations with all the countries of the world. But several great Western powers—in particular the United States—and their Asian favorites have denied us the right to realize this dream and have even tried by force to curtail our independence. I think that you must be aware, in this connection, of the aggression of the terrorists against our frontier towns, the territorial claims presented by the government of Saigon, the threats, the press campaigns, etc.

In the face of these increasingly violent attacks, the sole support, complete and *unconditional*, has come to us from the People's Republic of China and other Socialist countries. The only gestures of solidarity were given us by those countries practicing an "active neutralism" such as Indonesia, Algeria and the United Arab Republic. It was this, therefore, that led us inevitably to renounce our passive neutrality in order to participate in a common anti-imperialistic action—that is to say, against the political or military machinations of the powers which refuse to allow the Asian nations to govern their own affairs peacefully and autonomously. This understood, Cambodia remains strictly nonaligned in its domestic as well as its foreign politics.

In addition, I can assure you that *the state of our relations with the United States by no means stems from our belief that it is being defeated in South Vietnam and Laos. Opportunism is foreign to me and my attitude in regard to other countries is determined only by their attitude toward Cambodia. The principle that governs our international life is and will remain that of reciprocity.*

Prince Norodom Sihanouk
Chief of State, Cambodia

The Papermakers

Claymont, Del.

Dear Sirs: I am astonished that *The Nation* would print such a freewheeling, irresponsible and specious attack against two responsible international unions as William Ellis made against the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers and the Papermakers and Paperworkers ["The Paperworkers: First Rebels on the Labor Front," Jan. 4]. Just a few examples will suffice.

Ellis says that the "rebellion" on the West Coast occurred because (1) the "union chiefs" were out of touch with the rank-and-file workers although admitting that same rank and file enjoyed the highest wages and best fringe benefits in the paper industry in the world; and (2) that such benefits had been won too easily and the international unions hadn't called a strike in thirty years. . . .

How could such good contracts be negotiated if the union leadership was out of touch with its members? And . . . just what is wrong with a series of peacefully negotiated contracts, no matter over how many years, whose terms are approved by the members?...

Mr. Ellis remarks a total of seven times in his article about "Eastern-based" or "New York" leadership. What utter nonsense and waste of paper! Almost all international unions are based in the East or Midwest—and mostly because they started in these areas—which is true of the two unions under discussion. . . .

The "rebellion" on the West Coast was a naked power struggle . . . led by members who could not get their own way at the democratic conventions of the union because they could not get the majority support of the delegates from all over this country and Canada. They then walked out of the international union. . . .

You must know that such actions only lead to dilution of union power. This small and independent group of workers cannot possibly stand up against the mighty paper companies on the West Coast. . . .

In conclusion, *The Nation* should not allow its pages to be used for press agentry.

Gene Derrickson
International Representative
International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, AFL-CIO

Portland, Ore.

Dear Sirs: Just as he is "astonished" at the tenor of my article, so, I am certain, was Mr. Derrickson shocked by the rebellious actions of the West

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History Repeats Itself

It is commonly thought that Japan, Italy and Germany brought the League of Nations to ruin by withdrawing from it in the thirties. That is a half-truth. Already in the twenties the ruin had been begun not by the Fascists but by the democratic powers, in particular France and Britain. These two powers used the League as an implement of power politics, and discredited it morally long before the Fascists found it safe to administer their well-aimed kicks on the way out.

History does not always repeat itself; when it does, the parallel is never exact. There is considerable resemblance, nevertheless, between the disintegration of the League of Nations and the present onslaught on the United Nations by Indonesia and Red China. For almost twenty years, one of the principal objectives of Dulles-Acheson-Rusk-Stevenson diplomacy has been to keep Red China out of the UN. Each year a glorious victory has been won in the General Assembly; some years it has been less glorious than in the preceding year, but always by judicious arm-twisting and distribution of funds we have been able to muster a majority. The result could have been anticipated after the Sino-Soviet split came out into the open. Even if no other nation follows Indonesia, with her population of 97 million, the blow to the UN is serious. It is an ailing organization in any case, and the Chinese may have it in their power to split it wide open.

This is to condemn American policy, not to condone what Sukarno is doing. He was always an unscrupulous adventurer and his withdrawal from the UN is in character. He is making war on Malaysia, not because he regards its alliance with Britain as a form of neo-colonialism, but because war is the classic resort of the ruler who cannot fulfill the needs of his people. "Go to hell with your aid," he shouted as he walked out of the UN. This includes UNICEF and the other UN agencies that were making the lot of the Indonesian people—especially the children—less miserable. All of which could hardly interest Sukarno less.

It is too early for any concrete assessment of the danger to the UN, but it is probably greater than the estimate most of the commentators have put on it. The United States has weakened the organization, not only by intransigence and by dragging it into the Korean War, but by insisting that the Russians pay for the Middle East and Congo peace-keeping operations. The Chinese approval of Sukarno's action is obviously directed at the Soviets as well as the UN. In effect, while the Chinese attack the UN from the outside, we are attacking it from the inside. The UN cannot maintain even a semblance of cohesion when a major part of Asia has no voice in what purports to be a world organization, and if Russia, the great Eurasian power, though perhaps remaining a member, is deprived of its vote. As a side-effect, the disenfranchisement of the USSR, if successful, would paralyze the UN's decision-making powers. If the Johnson Administration is capable of bringing new ideas to bear on a new situation, now is the time. To pile new mistakes on the old ones can only bring disaster to an organization which, for all its weaknesses, has played a beneficent role in world affairs.

Wait and See

In anticipation of Surgeon General Luther L. Terry's one-year-later report on the lethal effects of cigarette smoking, tobacco stocks languished on the New York Stock Exchange. On the day the report was released, the shares of the five major companies rose sharply. "We expected a much harder hitting report," one broker was quoted as saying, "and was I relieved!" Another expressed the view that the outlook was very bullish and nominated the cigarette stocks as one of his favorite groups for 1965.

The relatively mild tone of the Surgeon General's warning was not the only reason for this joyous spirit. The cigarette interests could survey a year of inaction and anticipate another year of the same. As Sen. Maurine B. Neuberger said, the tobacco industry had succeeded in frustrating all attempts to discourage smoking. Not a single one of the measures that had given them the jitters in early 1964 had been put in force. Congress had provided no funds for smoking education; regulatory efforts to warn the smoker or potential smoker of the danger had been defeated; no laws had been passed and the prospects of legislation in the new Congress were poor. The tobacco-state Congressmen alone were a formidable obstacle to any curbing of the cigarette habit, which Dr. Terry estimated would kill 125,000 Americans this year.

The rejoicing of the cigarette interests may be well founded for the short term, but whether they will feel as euphoric in 1968 or 1970 remains to be seen. Dr. Terry found much uneasiness among smokers, and this may well affect the young, on whom the cigarette manufacturers must depend for their future. Even smokers favor a compulsory warning on cigarette packs and in advertising, and no less than nine out of ten want more education of adults and children on the health hazards of smoking.

The greatest menace to the industry's prospects, however, is the redoubtable Emerson Foote, chairman of the National Interagency Council on Smoking and Health and, until last September, chairman of McCann-Erickson, Inc., the second largest advertising agency in the world. Mr. Foote left McCann-Erickson because they handle cigarette advertising, though only outside the United States. All religions recognize that the

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greatest menace to the faith is the apostate priest, and Mr. Foote, in the theology of advertising and public relations, is more an apostate cardinal.

He is going about his crusade in exactly the right way, with the realization that it is no overnight affair. Nor are he and his colleagues overreaching themselves. The council does not favor a law prohibiting cigarette advertising, much less smoking. The $250 million spent in cigarette advertising, Mr. Foote points out, would engulf any predictable educational efforts. If the companies will not accept his invitation to desist voluntarily, he proposes that steps be taken to counteract the effectiveness of the advertising by means of "a clearly worded warning message to appear in all cigarette advertisements and at the end of all cigarette commercials on television and radio."

It will come. The poison vendors would be much happier if Mr. Foote were still on their side. No doubt he has noted Dr. Terry's finding that among medical students 44 per cent had quit, compared with 18 per cent of other males in the same age group. It would be presumptuous to offer Mr. Foote a slogan, but it is clear that the more you know, the less you smoke.

NATO's Gimmick

NATO is like a superannuated corporation executive unwilling to retire, too powerful to be fired, but with nothing left of his former onerous duties. To keep from going insane, the poor devil must hatch conspiracies, build internal roadblocks, take to drink, or dream all day of the glorious past when he ran the joint. Since NATO is an organization not an individual, not all those options are open to it. It can, however, have visions, and Drew Middleton (*The New York Times*, January 11) reports a lulu.

NATO's Supreme Headquarters is still muttering about a "forward strategy" to thwart the Russian hordes should they come swarming over the West German borders. The debate over whether nuclear weapons should be used has long since subsided—as a matter of course, they would. But this might not avail, since the Russians have nuclear weapons too and the NATO allies have fewer troops to spare. The NATO chiefs of staff have accordingly been looking for a unilateral holocaust—one to which there could be no reply. In this situation, they have concluded, nuclear demolition could at least delay, and perhaps thwart, a mass invasion of Germany. The Soviets would probably attack southwestward from East Germany and Czechoslovakia along a 300-mile front through rugged country. They would move, the reasoning continues, over the roads which naturally follow the valleys. Giant nuclear demolition charges, sown by NATO in advance, would blow the sides of the hills into the valleys. The valleys would be obliterated, or at least filled up enough so that the Russians could not traverse them with armor and artillery. The Russians would have no choice but to turn around and go home.

This technique bears some resemblance to the proposed method of building a new canal across Panama, Colombia or Central America by nuclear excavation. The purpose is different, but it is a truism that the techniques of war are often adaptable for peaceful ends (hence the code name *Ploughshare* for underground nuclear tests) and vice versa. The plan has another outstanding advantage. The West is glutted with nuclear explosives; in the United States plutonium-producing reactors are being shut down right and left, and at Oak Ridge alone 1,000 jobs are about to disappear. By preparing to level mountains the glut can perhaps be relieved and happy days will return to the nuclear industry.

The only flaw is that the Russians show no inclination to move. If and when they do (NATO's existence would be imperiled if the idea got around that they never will), there is another possible difficulty which, in all objectivity, the NATO chiefs have considered. The transport airplane is known in the Soviet Union, and it is possible that Soviet airborne forces would hop over the demolition areas and reunify Germany but in the wrong way. The West must therefore be sure to win and hold command of the air, or, failing that, American divisions must be airlifted en masse to liberate West Germany, cost what it may. As long as it can dream along these lines, NATO's occupation is not gone.

Squeeze Play

The last loophole in the system of peonage which is at the foundation of professional baseball has now been closed. Beginning in 1965, all high school and college players who are spotted by the major league scouts will be placed in a general pool from which the various clubs will select them in rotation (very much like sand-lot teams "choosing up"). The young player will have no say as to which club he joins. He may refuse the call, if he likes, and wait six months for the next pool, but he can no longer make the clubs bid for him in terms of salary or bonus for signing. (Some bonuses in the past, it must be admitted, were absurdly high, the clubs deriving invaluable publicity from signing "bonus babies" who were alleged, but rarely proved, to be worth their weight in gold.) And once he is signed, it goes without saying, the young ex-school star becomes property for the rest of his playing life—subject to sale or trade, often for very large sums, no penny of which trickles down to him.

This final shackle was riveted to the ankles of America's most glamorous athletes without very extensive, or very clear, discussion on the sports pages of the country. That is not surprising, perhaps, since sports writers enjoy very much the relationship to ball clubs that remoras enjoy to sharks. However, there is an angle to the new development that may interest the legal press of the country, if indeed it does not arouse the highest court itself. According to an A.P. report of December 3, the bosses of baseball sought legal advice before setting up their new talent markets. Well they might, for baseball has long been skating on the thin ice of monopoly and takes shrewd precautions to keep

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its actions clear of the courts. However, if the A.P. is right, management may this time have been a little too shrewd. The report says that the owners acted on the assurances of three Justices of the Supreme Court that their position would be sustained if it ever came before that tribunal. The notion that Supreme Court Justices can be induced to offer personal opinions as to how the Court might act on some future occasion so challenges the image of how Justices conduct themselves that further questions are almost certain to be asked. Which of the nine Justices help the ball teams with their legal problems, just what commitments did they make, and how were they induced to do such a thing? Baseball is sometimes laughingly called a sport, but there is nothing funny about these questions.

Productive Oceanography

The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers usually will not undertake a project unless it affords a benefit/cost ratio of at least 1.2 to 1. The members of the National Academy of Sciences Committee on Oceanography, using a similar projection, are asking for $165 million a year which, backed up by some other expenditures, promises in ten to fifteen years a yield of $6 billion a year—a b/c ratio that would send the Engineers and sponsoring Congressmen into a delirium of joy.

Nor is this fantasy. One has only to read current engineering literature to realize that oceanography has as valid a claim to be classified as pure science as do astronomy, high-energy physics or biochemistry; while for practical results it is infinitely better business than the enormously expensive moon race. The November, 1964, *IEEE Spectrum* contains three articles on "Instrumenting the Sea Floor" which give a good idea of what is in prospect. Still more readable is Athelstan Spilhaus' piece in the December, 1964, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, "Oceanography: A Wet and Wondrous Journey," in which the indefatigable dean of the Institute of Technology at the University of Minnesota (see editorial, "Americans at Sea," *The Nation*, September 14, 1964) presents a dazzling prospectus of what is to come.

The oceans have been too long neglected. They contain more than 97 per cent of all the water in the world; another 2 per cent is in the polar icecaps and in glaciers, and less than 1 per cent comprises all the liquid fresh water in lakes, rivers and streams, surface soil and deep in the ground. This enormous mass of salt water has been put to use for little but surface navigation and fishing. Submarines have been employed almost entirely for military purposes. Spilhaus predicts increasing submarine freight and passenger travel, to avoid the disturbances of the ocean's face. Subsurface navigational problems are being solved and, given the requisite instrumentation, beacon systems and maps of the bottom topography, a relatively quiet three-dimensional medium offers certain advantages.

The possibilities of aquaculture are even more alluring. Fishing is now carried on as a form of hunting: in getting food from the sea our present technology is about as advanced as that of the American Indians on land before the European invasions. Selective and systematic programs of fish breeding can be adapted from animal husbandry. And Spilhaus predicts powerful new methods of fishing, by means of electric currents which can force fish to swim into a funnel and be pumped directly into the hold of the factory ship. There are also chemical methods of herding fish and, recalling Leo Szilard's *The Voice of the Dolphins*, Spilhaus even suggests that dolphins could be trained to serve as sheep dogs of the sea. The floating ship factories will take the shape of chemical engineering plants, and in the productive waters of the world cities will spring up around them, with apartment ships, airport ships, shopping-center ships, and protected sea gardens in the lagoonlike interior.

Spilhaus also has plans for increased mining of the sea and, not least, for conservation of the seashore and the preservation of its natural form. Even if some of his ideas turn out to be chimerical—the dolphins, for instance, may object on moral grounds to serving human beings—the outlook is for great constructive accomplishments. The oceanographers should get their $165 million a year.

The Sovereign State of Comsat . . Herbert I. Schiller

Early in December the stock of Comsat, the Communications Satellite Corporation, took to soaring so impulsively that the governors of the New York Stock Exchange briefly suspended trading in its shares. Despite these Wall Street gymnastics, Comsat has yet to launch itself into space, but it is already well launched in the arena of world diplomacy. Not two years old until next month, Comsat is already a seasoned international negotiator, having made a name for itself at several multi-nation conferences in the past twelve months. During the company's gestation period, a good deal of uneasiness was expressed as to the consequences of creating a private organization that would inevitably be deeply involved in international relations, and it is worth checking now to see how these early forebodings are coming home to roost.

A government statement on communications satellites was first pronounced in July, 1961. At that time, President Kennedy declared: "I (again) invite all nations to participate in a communications satel-

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lite system, in the interest of world peace and closer brotherhood among peoples throughout the world." The policy he established favored private ownership and operation of the United States portion of the system, but with certain explicit conditions: that such ownership and operation encourage rapid technical progress, that the service be global in coverage, that it be made available even "where individual portions of the coverage are not profitable," that ownership be open to foreign participation, that present and future authorized communications carriers have equitable access to the system and, finally, that equipment be acquired competitively.

A dozen Senators fought hard but unsuccessfully to transform the communications satellite program into a government-owned enterprise. In August, 1962, Congress passed the Communications Satellite Act and Comsat was formally organized as a private United States corporation in February, 1963. In June of the following year, 10 million shares were offered for public sale. According to a prearranged FCC allocation formula, half of these were sold to individual investors and half were acquired by 163 authorized (communications) carriers. A.T.&T. became the largest single stockholder by purchasing 29 per cent of the total stock issue (and 57.9 per cent of the industry allocation). The four largest carrier stockholders (A.T.&T., I.T.T., General Telephone and Electronics Corporation and RCA Communications, Inc.) together had 90.9 per cent of the industry segment and 45.4 per cent of the total issue.

Though a two-year period elapsed between passage of the Satellite Act and flotation of the corporation's first stock issue, activities were by no means confined to organizing the domestic financial structure of the new private enterprise. Some essential pre-conditions for operation had to be provided. Interference-free channels were necessary and, though it may sound obvious, sufficient message receivers had also to be found. For satellite communications, both requirements depend to a large degree on international acquiescence.

Accordingly, long before Comsat was a functioning business, the United States Government began to concern itself with securing radio frequencies for space communications. As early as 1959, the administration sought and received tentative approval, from an international radio conference under the auspices of the International Telecommunications Union (ITU), for its proposals to use specified channels for space communications. At that time, it was decided to consider the matter more carefully at a later meeting. For the next four years American government leaders and experts drafted papers that were embodied in the official U.S. position to be presented at the Extraordinary Radio Administrative Conference, convened in Geneva in October-November, 1963.

The United States delegation was led by Joseph H. McConnell, president of the Reynolds Metal Co.; and included representatives from Congress, members of the FCC, the Department of Commerce, NASA, the Navy, the State Department; and the president of Comsat, Joseph Charyk, and Leonard Marks, one of Comsat's board of directors. At this conference of government delegations Comsat's position, at least on the surface, was strictly advisory.

America's position was simple and single-minded. It sought and secured approval from the seventy-nation conference to allocate immediately certain portions of the radio spectrum to space communications. It insisted, further, that the choice of channels be definitive, though many of the countries present argued that communications technology was still evolving and that a provisional allocation should be made in 1963 for reconsideration at a later planning conference. As the leader of the U.S. delegation put it: "You can understand this because many of the countries here were not as prepared as perhaps some of the rest of us were in the overall space communications field, and we had quite a little discussion about this problem." (*Congressional Record*, House, January 9, 1964.) This discussion included an Israeli resolution urging that "some form of Space Communications Administration be entrusted with the responsibility for insuring the global interest . . . of all member states...."

The proposal to consider the decisions of the conference as interim agreements was defeated in committee by an informal vote of 18 to 4, the minority view being taken by the USSR and three Soviet bloc countries.

Though the confused and wasteful allocation of frequencies for radio and television broadcasting in the United States emphasizes the wisdom of unhurried and considered development of new communications media, the American delegation was inflexible in its will to consolidate and extend its technological lead in space communications. At the same time it asserted that its proposals were in the best interests of the developing as well as the developed states.

Harlan Cleveland of the State Department acknowledged that "without the agreement . . . Dr. Charyk, for example, and his corporation would have been in great difficulty in moving ahead." And Dr. Charyk's evaluation was that "there is now a basis for, if you will, an investment based on some assurance that the whole thing isn't going to be upset by another look at the matter in a few years without any positive decision having been taken here."

The global communications program, in this view, could now proceed without endangering the private investment of Comsat's stockholders, even if the directions should later prove unsatisfactory for technological or related reasons. Dr. Charyk phrased it this way: "Who is there first has a priority, so to speak." Whether this is a principle upon which to rest a durable international agreement is an open question. However, the Geneva Radio Conference was regarded by all Americans concerned as a great success.

Attention now turned to Comsat's second requirement: finding customers who would be willing to use the channels it would be offering, once its satellites were aloft. To secure these, a series of loosely structured meetings with representatives from twenty-two Western European states, along with bilateral talks with Canada, Australia and Japan, were held in early 1964. They culminated in an agreement in July, 1964, to establish an international communications system, organized as a consortium. The papers were formally signed and became effective on August 20, 1964.

Before the substance of the agreement is considered, the novel character of the American negotiating

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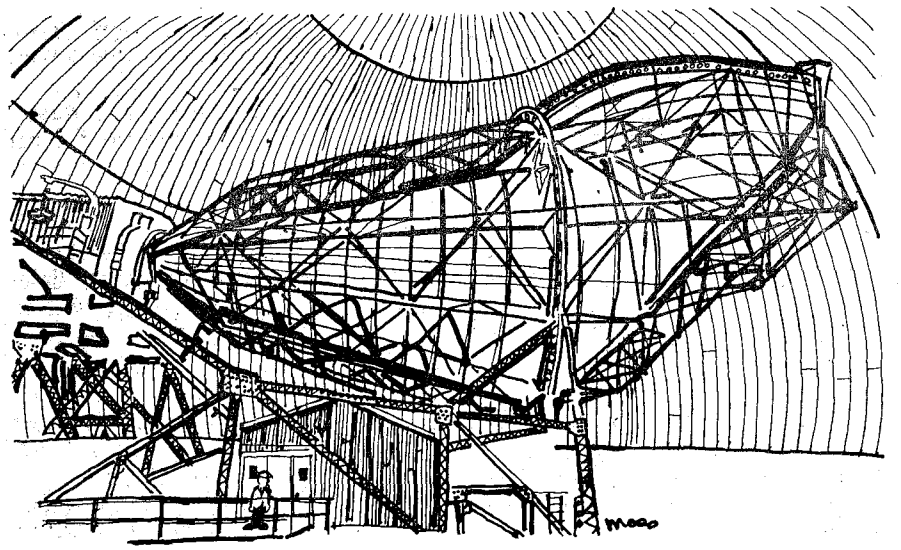

Horn Antenna Used To Transmit to and Receive from Space Satellite

delegations is worth remarking. At these European meetings, according to the State Department's legal adviser, Mr. A. Chayes, "The U.S. delegation was chaired nominally by Ambassador Bruce, but in fact, the laboring oar was carried by Dr. Joseph Charyk, the president of the corporation. . . . Also on the delegation was Mr. John Johnston . . . in charge of international negotiations for the corporation." (P. 344, Hearings, Part I, *Satellite Communications*, 1964, before a subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations, House of Representatives, 88th Congress, Second Session, August 6, 10, 11, 1964.)

Mr. Chayes was questioned about the curious situation in which a private corporation's president negotiated for his company's advantage, with the authority of a governmental mandate:

Mr. Roback [*Committee counsel*]: *Mr. Charyk, as president of the corporation, appeared as a consultant to the State Department or as representative of the company?*

Mr. Chayes: *No; he was a member of the delegation and indeed, vice chairman of the delegation. I do not think it fair to say he represented the company or that he represented the State Department. He represented the United States and in these negotiations the representation of the United States has been effected by a combination of the State Department, other interested agencies and the corporation.*

Mr. Roback: *Is it unusual, or is it not unusual for the head of a company to share or speak for the U.S. delegation in an international meeting which affects his company?*

Mr. Chayes: *Well it can happen and has happened. In this case, we think implicit in the act itself is the notion that the corporation shall have an important role in international negotiations, although not an exclusive one . . . the objectives that are established in the law are foreign policy objectives of the United States.*

As for the agreement itself, which established a global commercial communications satellite system, nineteen countries including the Vatican were signatories. With the exception of Australia, Japan, the United States and Canada, the membership was exclusively Western European. Ownership of the system, consisting of the satellites and the tracking, control and command and related satellite support equipment, was distributed on an individual share basis to communications entities designated by the signatory nations in proportion to their contributions to the capital costs of the system. On the basis of 100 shares, Comsat received 61 and the United Kingdom, the next heaviest contributor among the nineteen nations signing, received 8.4.

Not only does the United States currently possess 61 per cent of the shares of the consortium but it is specified explicitly that no matter how many new members may eventually join the system, the United States share cannot fall below 50.6 per cent. After the long years of principled opposition by U.S. representatives to the Soviet use of the veto in the UN Security Council, it is distressing, if not surprising, to hear Comsat's president reassure a Congressional committee: ". . . let me also say a more or less obvious thing, namely that the corporation in any event has a veto on all actions [of the system]."

Maintenance of American predominance in future space communications affects both the industrialized and the still-to-be-developed segments of the world, though not in identical ways. United States policy toward the technically advanced economies has developed as an uneasy balancing of solicitude and pressure. Washington and Comsat are concerned that Western Europe associate itself with the global communications organization because there is an obvious need for customers. At the same time, a powerful group sees little virtue in offering generous terms to weaker rivals. The cross pulls in these competing objectives account for the inconsistencies in American policy toward the industrialized states.

Never far from Comsat-Washington thinking, for instance, is an awareness of the earlier British control of world-wide communications through its ownership of transoceanic cables. This inspires a compulsive drive to transfer permanently to American hands the former British communications superiority. Senator Pastore, chairman of the Senate subcommittee on communications, in his recent book, *The Story of Communications* (Macfadden-Bartell), writes emotionally about the threat after World War I that the British would regain control over radio facilities temporarily lost during the conflict. ". . . We had a definite idea that Britain was planning a round-the-world wireless hookup for its empire that would stifle American competition for good and all." In the 1964 negotiations, Mr. Chayes noted that it was the rapid growth of American satellite technology in the 1950s that undercut Britain's chance to extend control of cable communications for another several decades:

British interests and other European interests had thought, at one point, that by delaying this and deferring this, they could get in with . . . another generation of cables and put this whole thing off. . . . It was the fact that the corporation [Comsat] *was able to mount a program for Early Bird which would supply this North Atlantic capability in 1965, and the Department* [State] *and A.T.&T. backed them up on it, that broke the resistance of these certain European countries and resulted in what we regard as a highly favorable*

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climate for cooperative participation in an early system.

American advances in space technology made communication satellites a realistic and potentially profitable alternative to cable transmission, and the Europeans were afraid to be shut out of the new developments. Chayes acknowledges this appreciatively: ". . . as the Europeans have seen the determination and speed with which we have been moving, their interest in climbing aboard has intensified. . . . Because they know that every day that passes, we are making more decisions, we are learning more, we are foreclosing other options about the ultimate characteristics of the system." And the legal adviser made it evident that the pressure was kept on: "We have made it clear . . . to the foreign governments that the timetable was set by the corporation's program and that the foreign governments and entities by failure to agree would not delay the corporation's program."

Success in bringing the Europeans into the new communications system and thereby eliminating the vestiges of English control of global communications carried with it a new problem for Comsat. Though eager to join, the Europeans were not at all willing to become silent partners. From the beginning, they resisted American efforts to negotiate with each nation separately. After a few exploratory talks in the spring of 1963 between Comsat representatives and individual Western European nations, the latter organized themselves into a group known as the European Conference on Satellite Communications. The State Department's special assistant for space communications, William Gilbert Carter, noted with regret that the Europeans had caused problems "for our side" by banding together: "The group approach was adopted very strongly and very firmly by the Western Europeans, and I think it is quite fair to say that they did this in order to increase their negotiating strength. . . ."

The problem for the American side was to establish an international commercial communications system that would satisfy the Europeans sufficiently to enlist their membership and support as customers and participants, while at the same time it prevented their interfering with American control. Since he who pays invariably commands, the matter quickly resolved itself into allowing the Europeans to pay just a little, so that they could establish an identity with the system, but not control it. The thinking that goes into such settlements is worth documenting and we are fortunate to have once more the explanation of the State Department's legal adviser, offered to a member of Congress, Representative Randall of Missouri:

Mr. Chayes: *In this case our problem is a little bit the reverse of what we usually have. The fact is the Europeans are anxious to put up a greater share of the money than we think they are entitled to.*

Mr. Randall: *This is novel, isn't it?*

Mr. Chayes: *It is novel but in a moment you will see why that is the case. We are talking about a $200 million system. But that is only the part of the iceberg that is out of the water. The $200 million system is built on long periods and tremendous outlays of U.S. research and development. If you can get in that $200 million. . . .*

Mr. Randall: *We are talking the same language. They are trying to get their nose under the tent.*

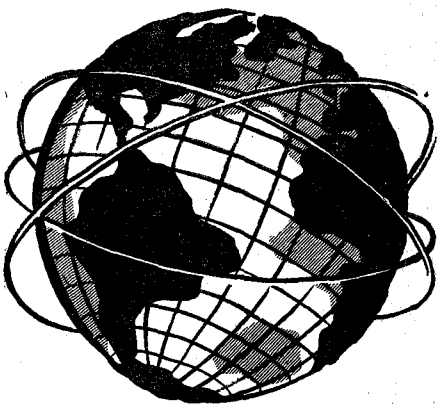
An interesting point arising from Mr. Chayes's testimony, but not brought out in Congressional inquiry, is the matter-of-fact assumption that while it would be unthinkable for foreigners to share, without cost, the fruits of United States Government outlays on space technology, it is completely acceptable for a private domestic corporation, Comsat, to reap such benefits for its stockholders, who constitute the merest fraction of the total tax-paying public.

In the matter of space equipment, it was recognized that the new communications system would be a growing and profitable customer. Understandably, the Western European countries and Japan were not shy about seeking a share of it. Mr. Carter of the State Department reported:

It became a highly political issue in Europe as to whether or not there was going to be any provision in here which did not inevitably result in there being complete U.S. procurement for the system for all time. This became a very sensitive political issue in a number of European parliaments. Again I think on balance we came out of the negotiations quite well.

It was agreed that procurement would also be in approximate proportion to the members' respective quotas, assuming that the material met price and quality standards. Since the United States had 61 per cent of the consortium's quota and a long technological lead as well, there was little doubt that for years to come American firms would dominate the business stimulated by the new communication system.

The European states were not entirely helpless in their negotiations with the powerful Comsat-Washington combination. For one thing they constituted, in Mr. Carter's words, "the key future partners who must be on the other end of the line if you are to have a system. . . ."



For another, the Western nations, with precedents to guide them, were able to negotiate with one voice. Finally, their industrialization permitted them alternatives. They could threaten to develop their *own* communications satellite system or, if necessary, continue to rely on cables. Despite these bargaining points, the negotiating achievements of the European Conference on Satellite Communications were hardly striking—a small voice in current decision making and the promise of some, though not many, future equipment contracts.

Consider, then, the plight of the less advanced nations. National policy outlined by President Kennedy in 1961 and embodied in the Communications Satellite Act of 1962, established the desirability of providing communication satellite services to less developed countries even where the costs of such services are not profitable. However, the dynamics and objectives of the privately owned Comsat have already gone a long way to nullify these declarations of good intentions.

The representation of the global "have-nots" was small at the frequencies allocation meeting in Ge-

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neva in October-November, 1963; in other meetings in 1964, which designed the form and structure of the new international communications system, the developing nations were excluded entirely.

By using the existing traffic volume in international communications as a criterion for accepting national participation in the new system, its directors made certain that paying customers would be favored. The countries that engaged in the final negotiations represented among them more than 90 per cent of the world's international, intercontinental telephone traffic. Policy pronouncements about the needs of the economically lagging states notwithstanding, Comsat's main concern is to win the communications market in the well-to-do world as it exists today.

The privileges of later accession to the agreement and participation in the system were offered to those not included at the start, though the period of accession was a brief six months. More indicative of the closed nature of the consortium is the fact that shares reserved for possible new entrants, no matter how numerous, cannot exceed 17 per cent of the total. Assuming that the remaining three-quarters of the world were interested in adhering to the agreement, it could never hope to receive more than a 17 per cent vote in the consortium's affairs.

Despite its designation, the new communications organization appears to be something less than genuinely global. Particularly striking, in light of President Kennedy's statement in July of 1961 that "the U.S. Government will examine with other countries the most constructive role for the United Nations, including the I.T.U., in international space communications," is the reluctance of the State Department to consider the possibility of an eventual UN attachment for the system. The following dialogue occurred between the Congressional subcommittee's counsel, Mr. Roback, and the State Department's special assistant for space communications, Mr. Carter:

Mr. Roback: *Do you have any idea about what the future evolution of this organization is going to be? . . .*

Mr. Carter: *You mean in the legal sense or organizational sense?*

Mr. Roback: *Both. That is to say, is it going to become an international corporation?*

Mr. Carter: *I do not know.*

Mr. Roback: *Is it going to become a UN agency?*

Mr. Carter: *Well, this phrase, "UN agency" is, I might say, a really loaded one.*

Mr. Roback: *Specialized.*

Mr. Carter: *No. I think it is not going to become a UN agency and will not become a specialized agency of the UN. I think that is quite clear.*

The Russians, informed of the plans for a satellite communications system, have maintained an attitude of polite interest but indicated little desire to participate. That is hardly surprising, when the position of the State Department is taken into account. State's Mr. Chayes expressed it this way: ". . . their [Soviet] international communications are not very great when you take them as a share of world international telecommunications. So whether they will have a real interest in participating in this system *on the kinds of terms that we would consider acceptable* [emphasis added] I don't think you can predict."

From its inception, the American space communications program has had an inseparable military connection. In a statement before the Senate subcommittee on communications in August, 1961, Dr. Harold Brown, director of Defense Research and Engineering in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, testified that "it is important to recognize that our domestic and international telecommunications systems are critical factors both in our military posture and in the cold war struggle, and, indeed, throughout the whole spectrum of conflict."

The portion of the frequencies assigned at Geneva for *exclusively* space communications purposes (most of the frequencies allocated were multi-purpose) was consid-

LETTERS

(Continued from inside front cover)

Coast paperworkers. Evidently, he, like so many other officers of the two internationals, refused to believe that a revolt could occur. But it did, and so what better rebuttal is there to his objection to the statement that the leadership was out of touch with the rank and file? As far as my piece being "press agentry" is concerned, it is Mr. Derrickson who is on the payroll of one of the two warring sides.

William S. Ellis

Berkeley thirty years ago

Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sirs: Susanne Woods's letter on the Berkeley free-speech struggle [*The Nation*, Jan. 11] brings back some ancient memories. Thirty years ago, I participated in a free-speech struggle on the Berkeley campus, helping to call a student strike for the reinstatement of five UCLA student leaders who had been suspended for demanding an open forum on campus, at which students could hear both sides of the election contest for governor between Upton Sinclair . . . and a conservative Republican candidate. . . .

Thirty years ago, despite severe restrictions of on-campus activity, Sather Gate (actually off-campus, though technically university-owned real estate) was our free-speech sanctuary which no administration would have dared to take away. It is symbolic of the retrogression of the First Amendment freedoms that today the university administration tried to do just that—and set off the wave of student protests.

We, too, were accused of trying to take over the administration of the university. Then and now, this is a completely false issue.

Richard Criley

Teamsters' influence

Austin, Tex.

Dear Sirs: The Adcocks' article on Houston's hospitals in the Jan. 4 issue of *The Nation* ["The Smell of Charity"] is probably well founded as to conditions in the charity hospitals there. I have no information on the matter. I do have long experience in the leadership councils of what is now the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations, which the Adcocks label as "Teamster-oriented." In this regard they are badly misinformed.

In the Crystal City affair there *was* cooperation between the Teamsters and PASO, but that was an isolated instance. If PASO is to be accused of being labor-oriented, a much more accurate observation would be to associate it with the Texas AFL-CIO. Even that observation would be only a partial truth.

George I. Sánchez
Center for International Education
The University of Texas

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ered by the United States to have largely a military application. Mr. Chayes explained:

. . . As to the exclusive use, I don't think there is any great mystery about this. Where there are competing uses, you can't put up a transmitter for this use unless you go through an elaborate procedure to make sure your transmitter will not interfere with any of the competing uses. Now if you are going to take . . . a mobile transmitter perhaps for military or emergency communications and put it down in some spot, you don't want to have to go through a lengthy international administrative procedure before you decide whether you can transmit. And that was why a portion of the spectrum was set aside exclusively for space communications.

And so that there could be no semantic confusion about American intentions and designs in the space field, Mr. Chayes put the following definition on the record:

When we talk about peaceful uses of outer space, we do not equate the notion "peaceful" with the idea of "nonmilitary." . . . When we talk about peaceful uses of outer space, we mean the use of outer space for nonaggressive purposes, and there isn't anything involved in the use of communications satellites for the National Communications System [overwhelmingly but not exclusively Department of Defense communications] *that is inconsistent with that concept.*

This acknowledges that we have military programs in space, but according to our assertion they are nonaggressive.

In the early period, prior to the formation of the international communications consortium, Comsat was negotiating with the Department of Defense at the same time that it was carrying on talks with two dozen sovereign states. It hoped to add the enormous international communications traffic of the American military establishment to its commercial business, combining both in one compartmentalized satellite. This arrangement failed for complicated political and financial reasons. One factor was the reluctance of the Western European countries to share a communications system with the military arm of the United States Government. Another, in the words of Dr. Charyk: "Basically what the Department of Defense sought was for us to attempt to negotiate with the other countries an arrangement whereby although the other countries were going to put up 40 per cent of the money that they would have no say whatsoever in the design of half of the satellite [the portion of the satellite designed exclusively for Department of Defense messages]."

In this instance, the international politico-financial benefits to Comsat-Washington of the new consortium outweighed the military revenue. The decision was made easier by the knowledge that communications equipment producers and communications common carriers could rely on a separate Department of Defense communications satellite system which, however duplicative, would offer additional contracts for various other communications facilities.

The development of Comsat reveals certain patterns and directions for world communications in the years ahead. Whereas a tendency toward wider global representation is observable in several important politico-economic international structures—in the United Nations itself, the UN Conference on Trade and Development, GATT, etc.—space communications is emerging as a retrograde structure. The decisions taken thus far are all based on market considerations. An inevitable consequence is the rapid relegation of the nonprofit communications needs of much of the world to the category of afterthought. Contrary to United Nations resolutions and Presidential statements, the space communications development under Comsat-Washington auspices has supported an aggressive nationalism, brazenly presenting itself as an international undertaking. The rush to develop space communications seems to indicate not so much a pressing technological need for expanded communications as a powerful combination of nationalist and commercial impulses to thrust aside competing techniques and secure global economic and military supremacy. Finally, the intimacy that characterizes the relationship between Comsat and Washington suggests a new and higher form of that curious creature, state capitalism.

Cuban Exiles

The Mirage of Havana . . . . . Al Burt

From 1959 until very recently, the activities and aspirations of the refugees who flooded into Miami from Castro Cuba reflected the broad outlines of U. S. policy. They play that interpretive role no longer. In 1961, exile warriors carried out a U. S. policy of military intervention; in 1965, they have become pawns available for sacrifice in an international game of cat and mouse.

Al Burt, Latin American editor of the Miami Herald, *was 1961 winner of the Ernie Pyle Award.*

The exiles have always been an optimistic lot. Not a year has passed without the widely heard promise, "we will be back in Havana by Christmas." Christmas and Havana retreat each year, but even today few are willing to admit that parts of the Castro revolution have rooted, and can hardly be reversed. No one likes to recognize that the turn of international affairs creates odds that if exiles ever return to Cuba it will be under Castro or a successor government they would find painfully similar.

In 1961, Cubans lined up on Miami sidewalks to volunteer for an army being trained and equipped by the United States in Central America. In three days that April, at the Bay of Pigs, that venture proved a disaster. From then on, as the Soviet Union rapidly built up Cuba's military strength, most military experts ruled out invasion as a tactic which Washington could use against Castro's brand of communism.

In 1962, exile commando raiders, manning anything from rented fish-

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ing boats to World War II torpedo boats, sneaked out of south Florida, stopped briefly on one of the many small Bahama keys spread out like measles just north of Cuba, and harassed the island with multiple mosquito bites. This began to develop into a phantom force of more than nuisance effect, until October. Then the U. S. discovered long-range missiles in Cuba.

After that crisis was over, Cuba realigned its defenses. Rather than being set to ward off another invasion, the Cuban surface-to-air (antiaircraft) missiles and other modern weaponry were grouped for the protection of strategic targets. It was apparent that Cuba felt future threats would be either from within or from small outside striking forces.

But U. S. authorities put a tight clamp on the exiles. The days of raids out of U. S. territory were over. Some exiles, accustomed to statements that said one thing and actions that indicated another, kept trying. One by one, the Coast Guard or Customs stopped them and confiscated their arms and boats or planes. None of the exiles was prosecuted, but the financial losses were more than most could handle.

A changed U. S. policy began to emerge. Washington placed more emphasis than ever on the economic blockade and on other attempts at economic isolation. Officials talked more of Cubans inside Cuba rising against Castro, and repeatedly stressed the fact that no U.S. territory could be used for attacks.

Early in 1963, Dr. José Miró Cardona, first prime minister under Castro who later became head of the Revolutionary Council that fronted for the Bay of Pigs invasion, rebelled. He said the United States had promised him another invasion and it wasn't coming. Washington denied this, but Dr. Miró, insisting on his position, quit the council. After losing its U. S. subsistence, the council dissolved.

About the same time, Manuel Artime, civilian delegate of the old Revolutionary Council at the Bay of Pigs, announced that he was reorganizing his group, the Revolutionary Recovery Movement (MRR). By March, he declared that he had

El Mundo, Havana

This development was startlingly similar to the events leading up to the Bay of Pigs. Former Nicaraguan President Luis Somoza approached Costa Rican President Francisco J. Orlich, and is alleged to have told him that the United States wanted to back a new anti-Castro operation —but this one must be organized completely outside U. S. territory and with no U. S. participation, except financial. The authorities which Somoza mentioned were never identified, but were presumed to be intelligence agents he had met during the pre-Bay of Pigs days when Nicaragua was a staging area for the invasion. Orlich agreed to allow training camps. Correctly or not, the Costa Ricans were convinced that a secret operation was being conducted by the Central Intelligence Agency. The CIA has declined to comment, as is its policy, and the State Department has denied any U.S. involvement.

Training camps were set up in northeastern Costa Rica; one on the River Sucio around an area called Sarapiqui, the other near the Caribbean port of Tortuguero. In Nicaragua, also, the training was along the Caribbean coast, most of it concentrated near a port called Monkey Point. Both the Nicaraguan and Costa Rican Governments denied this activity but it was an open secret, acknowledged by A[illegible] time himself.

One Artime man [illegible] the operation was [illegible] the Kennedy [illegible] obligation [illegible] had ba[illegible] invas[illegible]

Pigs venture, were to have control of the operation. Financing was to increase as the exiles proved that they were capable of handling it. The prime target was to be Cuban shipping, thus giving additional bite to the economic blockade.

U. S. support, although denied, does seem evident. Veteran Latin America observers cannot believe that any Central American government would permit military preparations against Cuba without U. S. approval. Retaliation might be provoked and only the United States could defend against it. Furthermore, the civilian phase of the operation was headquartered in Miami. Volunteers were recruited in Miami, their credentials arranged so that they could move on to Central America with no more difficulty than stepping aboard a plane in Miami or boarding a ship in New Orleans. Periodically, the trainees were allowed to return to Miami on leave to visit families or friends. A Cuban refugee can travel outside the United States only with special permission, given by Immigration officials on a judgment basis.

The commandos received a salary scaled to their family status. Bachelors got $175 a month, married men $225 plus $25 per child. The money was distributed to families in Miami each month. An MRR "social worker" would hand over cash, and the wife would sign a receipt. The number of men sent to Central America has been estimated from a low of 200 to a high of 500. MRR officials concede their payroll ran more than $50,000 a month. It has been estimated that military equipment, boats, salaries and expenses have brought costs of the operation to between $3 million and $6 million.

One MRR man in Miami explained that an American would call the office, say that a certain amount of money had been deposited in a Miami bank under a certain name. The MRR would then draw on it. [illegible]osta Rica, an official said that [illegible]ks would arrive in the mail, [illegible]wn on the accounts of legitimate [illegible]erican firms, usually from New [illegible]rk City banks. One official claim[illegible] to have received a check for [illegible]67,784 in a plain white envelope [illegible]aring a U.S. cancellation but no

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records show that the check was issued on November 19, 1963, and they reveal the check number, the bank and the American firm. He said other checks had come in different amounts; one for $450,000 was used to purchase modern military equipment.

Then, in December, 1964, officials discovered that someone was taking advantage of government protective secrecy around the camps to smuggle contraband (mostly Scotch whisky) from the Panamanian free port of Colon. President Orlich of Costa Rica ordered all military training centers closed. Since he had never admitted the existence of the Cuban camps, he did not specify them, and the government said Cubans were not involved. However, it was evident that Orlich no longer considered the operation in the best interests of Costa Rica. An added complication was that a Presidential political campaign was beginning, and corruption and Cubans were being used as issues against Orlich's party.

It had become obvious that mismanagement by the Cubans was making the operation a fiasco. In the year in which they were considered to be combat-ready, the MRR made only two raids—on a sugar warehouse on the south coast of Cuba's Oriente Province in May, and on a radar station in the same area. The inability to provide action contributed to discontent in the camps. "I never saw such disorganization," said a Costa Rican who tried to work with the MRR. In addition, Costa Rican officials became convinced that the camps were infiltrated by Castro spies, became concerned about the dissension, embarrassed by deliberate exaggerations made in publicity boasts, and disturbed by the revelation of a gunshot death of one commando under strange circumstances.

The man killed was Roberto Trujillo Rodriguez, a 27-year-old father of two, whose wife and fam[illegible] in Miami. He went to [illegible] February. After r[illegible] ters, his wife [illegible] him again. Ir[illegible] an anonym[illegible] husband h[illegible] She confr[illegible]

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was investigating to see whether Trujillo's death was an accident or murder, and offered Mrs. Trujillo two alternatives: she could send a lawyer to the camps to sit in on the trial of those involved, or she could wait until the MRR "freed Cuba" and the trial could be held in a civilian court. She declined both, and has persisted in trying to learn what happened.

The MRR, in offering Mrs. Trujillo on-the-spot justice, revealed that it enforced its own penal code in the camps. Violators were tried, and sentences including capital punishment were pronounced. An MRR official stated that in the case of a death ruling, the prisoner would be held and executed only after the victorious return to Cuba.

The odds against the MRR operation, even under good management and the best of circumstances, were awesome. At the Bay of Pigs, 1,400 men failed against a Cuban military machine then regarded as weak. Now Cuba is ranked as a military power in this hemisphere second only to the United States. Some 200 to 500 men obviously could not topple Castro alone, but the MRR insisted that factors inside Cuba known only to its organization would make the difference.

The MRR's confidence, so typical of the exiles and so well practiced by Artime since 1961 when he was known as the "Golden Boy" of the CIA, centered on three contingencies that it considered possible: that a coup could be engendered inside Cuba by power factors playing on the split between old-line Communists and Castro's July 26th disciples; that the Russians might tire of the million-dollar-a-day burden and sacrifice Castro to an accommodation with the U. S.; that Castro might be assassinated. The MRR used these long shots as the base for a dual plan—to harass Cuban shipping (supporting the economic blockade), and to ready [illegible] force for response to any [illegible] within Cuba. Acting upon such a development, the exiles could hope that what appeared to be a genuine fight for freedom on Cuban soil would merit support from the Organization of American States or from the United States itself.

The exiles realize that the heart of U.S. policy is the economic blockade, and there is no question (although some still raise it) that the blockade has made life difficult in Cuba. But, at least in modern history, no government has been starved into submission. It appears that the best the exiles can hope for is to create an atmosphere conducive to revolt and to persuade Russia that Cuba is too expensive.

Many believe that only Castro can keep his revolution cemented together. Without him, therefore, a revolt is possible. The United States has encouraged this supposition by its past policy statements. President Kennedy once said, in a message obviously intended for Cubans inside Cuba, that only Castro and his ties with Russia prevented U. S. friendship and the return of U. S. comforts. It implied that the type of government was in itself no barrier.

Exiles recognize Castro and Russia as formidable obstacles, and some understand that even the victory to be realized by their removal probably would not bring the old life back. For the rich and the poor exile alike, the world has turned. The eternal optimism of exiles persists—that next month, next Christmas, somehow, some day, somewhere, somebody will liberate Cuba. But some are beginning to hedge that optimism by seeking status as a U. S. resident, or applying for citizenship.

Each year, the breach grows between the 7 million Cubans in Cuba and the 300,000 outside. Could mass privileges won at the expense of minorities be taken away? Would those who have endured life in Cuba be willing to let those who left it determine the government of their country? It seems apparent that Castro has disturbed the social structure of the island in ways that can never be entirely erased, whatever the intensity of current internal discontent. United States policy

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Cuba they knew. It means, further, that one day they are apt to see their militant efforts sacrificed either to Cuba's moderation, withdrawal by Russia, or to a successor government that must grapple and live with inherited paternalism. In either case, the United States would presumably move closer to Cuba.

Some foresee a parallel to the Mexican revolution, which for years roiled bitterness with the United States, but eventually eased into mutual acceptance and friendship, limited only by a fierce Mexican independence matured by years of conflict. The exiles must now be spectators at the international waiting game, using their waning power to influence and hoping that the Russian pawns go first.

Depressed Areas Built To Order

Bruce B. VanDusen

Several months ago, a Labor Department statistician named Lester Rindler drew a line around the western section of Rhode Island on a map of that state. It is unlikely that more than a handful of the 12,800 residents of the five towns thus circled could have guessed that the line meant their towns had just joined the ranks of the nation's "depressed areas." The people living in the pleasant, wooded, rural communities of West Greenwich, Scituate, Richmond, Exeter and Foster, R.I., do not think of themselves as economically deprived. Since the last war, each of the five towns has enjoyed substantial growth—an average of 27 per cent, in fact, between 1950 and 1960. Nobody knows what the level of unemployment is in these towns because, until Mr. Rindler drew his line, the state thought the data would be too insignificant to warrant collection. But it is safe to say that economic conditions in those rapidly developing communities are much better than in the nearby cities of Providence and Pawtucket, which have been losing residents to the suburbs and fighting chronic unemployment for years. The biggest problem in these small towns is common to any rural area turning suburban: how to find the tax money to build roads and schools and pay adequate salaries.

But among the cranberry bogs, apple orchards and new residential developments that characterize these five New England towns are a few keen-minded citizens who knew exactly why Mr. Rindler had gotten busy with his pencil down in Washington. They knew that these days it is sometimes more advantageous to be officially depressed than not, that if the right kind of line is drawn on the Labor Department's map, your town, too, can be on the royal road to depression.

Over the years, Congress has made it possible for communities designated as areas of "substantial and persistent unemployment" to obtain matching grants and loans to construct public buildings, create industrial parks, lay sewer lines, train unemployed workers, and study ways to improve the local economy. Industries in such areas get preferential treatment on federal procurement contracts and small businesses can negotiate federal loans at 4 per cent rather than at 5.5. Thanks to the Buy American Act, Area Redevelopment Act, Public Works Acceleration Act and others, it is good business to be designated an area of substantial and persistent unemployment. The trick is to become qualified.

There are scores of counties (cities and towns are the normal jurisdictions in New England) which find no comfort whatsoever in their depressed status—places like Greenville, Tenn., with 13.4 per cent of the work force unemployed; La Crosse, Wis., with 29 per cent and Clarksburg, W. Va., with more than 30 per cent. When Congress properly decided to attack severe unemployment (more than 6 per cent), frightening figures such as these were what prompted its action. Still, it is a fact that many communities across the country have qualified for help without being able to demonstrate the existence of a severe unemployment problem. And they have found a number of interesting ways to do it.

One of the basic techniques is to become part of an existing depressed area. That is what happened in Rhode Island, where the core cities of Providence and Pawtucket have been in tough economic shape for a long time. The Labor Department has been collecting data for these cities and a number of close-in suburban communities in Rhode Island and nearby Massachusetts. The Department refers to the whole territory as the Providence-Pawtucket Labor Market Area (LMA). It is one of 751 such LMAs, 507 of which were in the "substantial and persistent" category at last count. The unemployment rate in the Providence-Pawtucket LMA has been dropping in recent years—from 8.5 per cent in 1959 to just under 6 per cent lately—but it still qualifies for aid from the Area Redevelopment Administration (ARA) and under the Public Works Acceleration Act (APW).

Mr. Rindler and the Labor Department extended the Providence-Pawtucket LMA to include the five towns formerly just outside the territory, on the ground that the five towns are economically integrated with the rest of the labor area. They arrived at this conclusion by checking commuter surveys. The ruling is that if 15 per cent of the work force of an outlying area commutes to jobs in the labor market area, if that labor area qualifies for federal aid because of an unemployment problem, and if the inclusion of the outlying area would not change that situation, then the new area can also get in line for federal money.

The Labor Department says that it has nothing to do with giving out money for these economic recovery projects, that its role is limited to identifying centers of unemployment and that the ARA then decides which projects are to be approved and funded. But the fact is that any LMA with substantial and persistent unemployment is automatically labeled for redevelopment by the ARA. So if a county or town adjoining a depressed area can show that about 15 per cent of its working people commute to the center,

Bruce B. VanDusen has moved this month from his post as a Washington reporter for the Providence Journal-Bulletin *to become an editorial writer on the Detroit* News.

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it can join the ARA gravy train automatically by having the Labor Department add it to the depressed LMA. The newly added community may have a thriving economy; it can still build its new town hall for half price.

A variation of this technique is based on commuting in the opposite direction. If it can be shown that 25 per cent of the work force of the outlying area comes from within the existing LMA, the two can be joined. Using this Labor Department regulation, another Rhode Island community, South Kingston, was recently added to the Providence-Pawtucket LMA because the Quonset Point Naval Air Station there drew a large number of civilian workers from Providence. The town, which is enjoying an expanding, healthy economy, promptly got an O.K. from ARA to erect $224,000 worth of public buildings and charge $111,000 of the bill to the federal taxpayers. Local taxpayers are naturally glad about all this, even though the official record says they are depressed.

There is no necessary connection between this expansion of the Providence-Pawtucket LMA and the fact that all the towns involved are in the Congressional district of Rep. John E. Fogarty (D.) who, as chairman of the appropriations subcommittee, approves all spending by the Labor Department. But the association of ideas should not be dismissed entirely, for the history of the ARA and APW legislation suggests that Congressmen care less about solving the problem of severe unemployment in the nation than they do about bringing home the re-election bacon. This history is carefully plotted by Sar A. Levitan in his new *Federal Aid to Depressed Areas* (Johns Hopkins Press). The sad fact is that the bills would not have become law in the first place if the criteria for designating redevelopment areas had not been left vague enough to win votes from both city and rural Congressmen. And now that they are law, Mr. Rindler reports that the pressure for new designations of Labor Market Areas and for the extension of existing ones is substantial, and that at least one-third of the requests are turned down. Nevertheless, Mr. Levitan reports the addition of 230 rural counties to the roster of ARA redevelopment areas at the insistence of the Department of Agriculture, and states that if ARA had bothered to challenge the supporting facts it would have found that less than a third of them had sufficient unemployment or a low enough income level to justify the special federal aid.

Another interesting gimmick permits areas that cannot prove they are victims of chronic unemployment to be classed as if they were. The Area Redevelopment Act directs that the Secretary of Commerce see to it that the recovery projects are distributed "widely among the several states . . . in order that actual experience with this program may be had in as many states and in as many areas and under as many different circumstances as possible." By a stretch of bureaucratic logic designed to win a variety of friends for ARA, former Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges interpreted this to mean that *every* state must have at least one redevelopment area, regardless of its economic condition. In practice, the ARA has simply looked for that part of a state with the lowest level of income or highest rate of unemployment and made it eligible.

The classic case occurred in Vermont where, in July, 1962, the counties of Caledonia, Essex and Orleans were declared a redevelopment area. ARA people studied Vermont at the state's request but found unemployment too low and incomes too high to justify action. Since no other excuse could be found, they designated the area on the ground that the state had no area meeting the normal criteria.

But then in May, 1963, a Vermont county was found which did qualify on the basis of its rate of unemployment. Grand Isle County was added to the list of redevelopment areas, and logic would then have required the removal of the other three counties. But that was not done, for by then those independent Vermonters had found their way to the money tree and put several applications into the works. When the ARA and APW money ran out last year, the three counties had received $1,469,000 in federal grants and loans, plus an undetermined amount in low-interest loans and procurement contracts.

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During last summer the Government Accounting Office, the Congressional watchdog agency, reported that $7.4 million had been given away by ARA to areas that were not burdened by chronic unemployment. The GAO cited the county of Hawaii (in the state of that name) where for years the unemployment rate has been below 6 per cent, but which has received more than $3.6 million in special aid to relieve unemployment. Other examples in the GAO report were in Delaware and New Hampshire. ARA's response was that Congress had directed that the programs be widely distributed and that once a redevelopment area is established, Secretary Hodges' regulations require evidence that unemployment conditions have improved before aid is withdrawn. On this point, the GAO recalled the Vermont case and dryly commented, "as the three-county area was not designated because of depressed area circumstances it appears inappropriate to require economic improvement to terminate the designation." The practice continues unchanged.

This chaotic and illogical system of area designation has permitted more than 1,000 counties (one-third of the total in the country) to be designated, many of them clearly unburdened by a chronic unemployment problem. Congress knows this perfectly well, yet in 1963 voted down an attempt to require designation of redevelopment areas on the basis of employment data alone. Further, Congress has refused to appropriate enough money to permit the Census Bureau and the Labor Department to expand their employment surveys into many areas where data are now unavailable. Congressmen apparently fear that if a clear, factual and logical set of criteria were used consistently, they might have to break to their voters the sad news that the days of half-price city halls and cut-rate sewer lines are over.

An inevitable result of the patchwork designation system is that the aid-to-depressed-areas budget is spread too thin to accomplish very much. If the millions pumped into Hawaii on the goodies-for-every-state theory had gone instead to the small towns of West Virginia, the difference in impact would have been obvious. But ARA officials consistently excuse the unimpressive gains to date on the grounds that the program is still young, that the problem will necessarily take a long time to solve, and that money is short. Critics reply that the time to correct errors is early and that money would not be so short if it were well directed.

Expressions of dissatisfaction had in fact become so sharp by last summer that William L. Batt, Jr., ARA Administrator, failed to convince the 88th Congress that his program should be continued. For the most part, the criticism has centered on the high cost of job-producing projects approved by ARA, questionable evidence as to the number of jobs created, and the area-designation problem. Since the ARA legislation does not expire until next July, Congress has another chance to act. It is expected to approve the extension by an easy margin, now that it has a heavy Democratic majority and the forceful support of President Johnson.

The only question now seems to be whether a new law will tighten the designation criteria and force the new Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor and Mr. Batt to direct their millions where they will really count. If a way is not found to prevent economically healthy communities from weaseling their way into programs designed to alleviate genuine distress, and if steps are not taken to remove the happiness out of being depressed—then it will be another victory for the pork barrel.

Why the Students Revolt . . . . . Bill Ward

Syracuse, N.Y.

It was just a small demonstration of student disapproval, hardly violent enough to cause a ripple in the nation's press. The students were unhappy about the dates for Christmas vacation, so a few thousand of them (estimated from 2,000 to 5,000 by crowd counters) gathered in front of the campus chapel to protest. Radio and television brought along their cameras, hoping for the worst, and the local newspaper reporters were there. But the press got just two newsworthy facts: The chancellor of the university again said No, the students could not have an extra two and a half days of vacation; some of the students jeered the chancellor's talk.

Out in Berkeley, students were staging a sit-down-drag-out battle with authorities, but here at Syracuse University the protest was mainly verbal and not disruptive at all. It was typical of dozens of such demonstrations on campuses across the nation this year and last—and typical of more to come in this age of "action" campuses.

For their confrontation of authority, the student body at Syracuse got bad publicity. First of all, the motive on the surface was barely supportable. It was not obviously a matter of high principle to demand a longer vacation. And the booing shocked people who didn't realize that the speech, not the chancellor, was being booed. The students were supposed to show proper respect, to know their place and keep it.

And that, in a nutshell, is the reason for the demonstrations. The college student does indeed know the place allotted to him—and he doesn't like it. That is why the constrained demonstration at Syracuse in December is symbolic of the changing attitudes of today's college students.

For three weeks, student leaders and official student organizations had been pressing the administration for a vacation to start on December 18, rather than December 23. A number of reasons were given, but all the petitions were politely turned down. Then, as a last resort, a mass meeting was called for a Monday afternoon, and to everyone's surprise thousands turned out. Something was happening to student attitude; for once there was no apathy. At 3:30, as promised, the chancellor made a personal ap-

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pearance, held his ground and was rudely received.

In succeeding days, student leaders tried picketing (no support from students) and called for a boycott of classes (a little more support). Then it was time for vacation and the issue died.

After the students had left for Christmas, theories began to develop among members of the faculty about the "real" significance of the demonstration. An explanation went free with every cup of coffee. One of the most popular was immaturity—too many students still live in an adolescent stage of parent rejection, and if a university insists on maintaining its role of parental substitute, it must be prepared to face rebellious offspring.

Another theory posed demagogues at work. At emotional times of the school year, such as near the end of a term, the hounds can bay at the uneasy herd and send it into quick flight. Battling for power, a few student leaders hope to usurp the chancellor's authority, and one way to bring down the monarch is to rouse the rabble.

But no single, all-encompassing theory fits neatly—particularly to such minor movements as the Christmas demonstrations at Syracuse, where the causes were obviously plural. The students who jeered the chancellor, or stood quietly listening to the speeches, or who packed up and went home whenever they damn well felt like it had a variety of motives. Here follows a "Who's Who" of a demonstration:

1. Some of the most vociferous hecklers found in the movement self-justification for academic failure. The semester was nearing completion, final grades had become apparent, and those who faced failure enthusiastically jumped into the demonstrations. One boy was heard to say after the chancellor's speech, "Well, it just proves all over again that I'm lucky to get out of here."

Most colleges don't publish their annual dropout rate, but it is considerable. The greater the pressures to get in, the easier it is to be flunked out. And as more students need excuses, campus dissatisfaction will more easily be whipped up.

One of the students in the front lines at Syracuse is well known to me. He has twice dropped courses, hoping to trim his academic load to manageable proportions, but he still fails. As his anger grows, he looks lightning and mouths thunder. One professor has it in for him; another just doesn't know how to teach. "I don't know about that cat," he said one day. "He dips me no end." I have watched this youngster for two semesters and never seen him smile. He won't be given a chance to return to summer school again to make up deficiencies, so he must have his excuses ready. And there he was, in the front lines, booing the chancellor, a girl friend gripping his hand and crying bitterly.

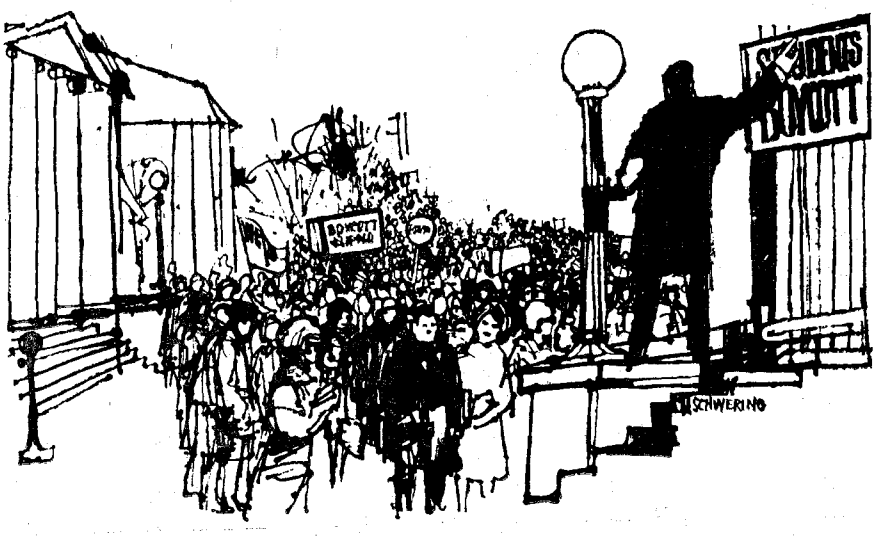
On a campus of 10,000 students, hundreds are headed straight for failure. They provide a desperate army, ready to strike for revenge.

2. Where there are malcontents, there are some demagogues. On college campuses they often are popularly elected student leaders who look about them and see precious few to lead. A few decades ago, student government became a vogue, a device to make students feel a part of things. But relatively little power went with office. Now, student leaders, ambitious and hating the hypocrisy of their position, frequently demand power. And many of them have studied 20th-century power techniques and know how to amass strength. This is particularly true of those who come from metropolitan backgrounds. The rural student enjoys elbowroom and independence and feels little need to head a power structure. The urban student, raised in crowds, often feels compelled to stand out. He can be ruthless.

When student support is not satisfactory, the leader may draw upon emotional words. One is "apathetic." If a student were to get an honor point every time he is called "apathetic" today, he would easily be graduated *cum laude*. Leaders know that the word bites, so if few undergraduates show up at a rally, the campus is "apathetic." Students are never thought of as being in their rooms, trying to study for examinations; they are "apathetic" to the cause. They are never conceded to be out of sympathy with a nifty maneuver designed to aggrandize student government; they are "apathetic." They are never called self-reliant or self-thinking, never sensible about controversy; they are instead always "apathetic." To defend themselves against the charge, students must rally behind their young leaders and besiege the administration building.

Not that all student rebellions are provoked by impure motives, but demagogy is in the air. The desire for followers is producing a group of touring campus leaders, who move from campus to campus, somewhat like circuit parsons, churning student spirit. Power becomes additive, and one flock is becoming not enough for these leaders.

3. Students undergoing the pressures of today's schooling struggle from vacation to vacation, like a desert tribe moving hopefully from oasis to oasis. Vacations provide time to catch up on work (books and term papers), to catch up on sleep (no staying up until 3 A.M. to finish reports). Vacations mean a chance to unwind nerves, a chance to eat noninstitutional food, a chance to get away from the monster university. "If I can hold out three more weeks, it'll be time for vacation. Then I can make it to intersession." Their schedule for survival is so closely planned that



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every day of vacation is significant. The school-weary students—in need of a booster day—turned out en masse at Syracuse, but generally they were not the hecklers. Instead, at the chancellor's firm no, they shook their heads and trudged back to the residences for one more stay-awake pill.

4. And, of course, a demonstration is exciting. College campuses, despite their reputation for antisocial behavior, are notoriously strait-laced and decorous. They would be havens for adult moderates, but for thousands of young people they are flat wastes of tedium. Life is kept lean and dry. For example, at home most college-age girls can stay out past midnight without causing alarm, but at most colleges the girls must be in at 10:30 P.M., except for a midnight curfew on Saturdays and an occasional 2 A.M. special pass. The university campus is an urban community with a rural ethic, one of the final homes of the Puritan code. To many students, the most exciting event of the week is a party called TGIF: Thank God, it's Friday; time for beers in celebration. Some overdo the rejoicing, but academic competition is too tough to allow much license. Colleges are knife-quick to dismiss the laggards. In fact, when newspapers editorialize about orgiastic life on —or off—the campuses, or when a new book exposes the depravity of college students, no one laughs more bitterly than the students themselves. The life just doesn't exist; a few incidents are parlayed into a bestseller. So most students welcome excitement on campus, even if they disapprove of jeering the chancellor and wouldn't do so.

5. Finally, there is the constant fear of being buried alive in what has been called "the sprawling multiversity." The desire for physical growth in most colleges is insatiable. More money is always needed—more contributions from alumni, more endowments, more profit-making groups within the university, more students paying higher tuitions, more federal grants, more research dollars from the foundations. Growth. Power. Numbers. Dollars. The most important man on campus is the one who brings in the most funds. In the past, it was the authority on Shakespeare who received a standing ovation at the conclusion of his final lecture. Not today. A teacher cannot be measured numerically, but the man of money can—he always stands so high in dollars and cents.

Students swiftly and surely sense any change in campus values. They suspect that they, too, have been displaced. The university is not quite the city of mind that they had been taught to expect. It is in part a materialistic city of research, of growth, of grinding out profit and interest to be put back into expansion. The tuition fee—the student's contribution—is not of primary importance. In state colleges, taxes carry the load; in private colleges, outside funds meet the bills. The student, feeling somewhat like a welfare case, fears losing even more of his position.

At lunch the other day, an intelligent and mature student described the problem. "They always seem to be wanting to make me into a number. I won't let them. I have a name and am important enough to be known by it. No numbers for me—or anything else that threatens my identity and position. I'll join any movement that comes along to help me. The faculty can give up and be digits if they want to. But not me!" He became effusive. "This is my school. I figure I am just as important to the school as it is important to me. My education is the significant thing here and that is the source of my allegiance to the school." Therefore, he is willing to rebel against any power that threatens to submerge him.

For these reasons and others, most campuses today are increasingly vulnerable to student demonstrations. Last year at Syracuse, for instance, food service was boycotted ("The double Jello caper"); civil right issues led to a series of picketings, parades and boycotts.

But several elements must be present to unite the disparate groups on campus into one "action." First, the issue should be morally and socially defensible in the eyes of the public (which generally means parents and friends back home). Free speech at Berkeley; allegedly substandard food; disregard of a religious holiday; racial equality; unjust suspension of students for minor infractions of campus rules—if the issue has the sanction of morality and common sense, however heavily disguised, students will risk going into action. At Syracuse, an attempt was made to criticize students by pointing out that a sizable portion of these are Jewish and presumably indifferent to Christmas. Jewish students answered hotly, "We can be Jewish and still participate in the spirit of the Christmas holidays." Proper observance of Christmas was defensible cause.

Second, the issue must have direct effect on most students. A change in regulations thus would affect all students and can easily be whipped into a movement. A contradiction arises here: student quickness to react against change, in the name of "action," helps assure the *status quo*.

Third, and perhaps most important, "action" must confront the generations in charge: those elders who control society, and in the minds of most students make a bad job of it. Here one comes upon the "why" of rebellion.

Every college generation has supposedly challenged its elders, but never before has it been quite like this. In the 1920s, expatriation was a popular form of rebellion; for others gin and joy provided escape. In the 1930s, the fight was economic and political and the college group pinched by depression was very small. In the 1940s, all energies were burned up by war. In the 1950s, refugees from depression and war, students refused to face issues and wanted, instead, security and moderation.

The present generation is different. Its energies cannot be drafted into a war for either economic or political survival. Students today refuse to escape like their fathers, and they refuse to settle for materialistic security like their older brothers and sisters. They see American history in this century as a series of mistakes—a blundering from one war, supposed to end all wars, right into another. They view the depression as the result of economic and political stupidity. They see weapons of mass destruction as the most prevailing instruments to come out of the atomic age.

A columnist for one of the Syracuse newspapers criticized students at Syracuse University for their demonstration at Christmas and suggested they gird themselves for greater sacrifices, rather than gain. As an illustration of sacrifice, he used an incident from World War I, when he and his buddies willingly

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spent one holiday digging latrines for a group of dysentery patients. The column caused amusement on campus. The modern college student—"the best educated and the healthiest"—could not understand the moral of the ancedote. He believes man must have greater hopes and purposes and values. To survive college is to aspire to far more useful sacrifices, if need be. After all, this college generation largely fills the ranks of the Peace Corps.

Harping on war merely convinces the student of the incapacity of the elder generations to govern wisely. Better give over the controls, or at least accept a younger copilot! As the editor of the student newspaper at Syracuse wrote: "If today's demonstration proves nothing else, it must at least show the administration we are here and we care what it thinks about us. We are not ones to be ignored or taken lightly."

There is then this matter of superior education; the modern student willingly agrees that he is superior and believes that therefore he sees more clearly, carries proper banners, is better able to undertake correct and elevating action. He grants that he is young but is convinced that his superiority to previous college generations equips him to lead at a much earlier age. He is also a creative thinker (teachers of English constantly attack his inability to spell and punctuate, but they say little against his creativity); he sees all the old problems in new perspective. For his own survival, he must get control soon, an impulse that is setting campus leaders to a faster timetable. After all, their idol John F. Kennedy became President in his 40s. If one of today's students exerts enough pressure and keeps his elders sufficiently unnerved, he too may become the youngest President, and may have a world to take care of.

To the other generations, Kennedy was a good President, but he was not as warmly held as FDR or Eisenhower. But to the college generation, Kennedy was more than political leader; he was physically, intellectually, ideologically and ethically the perfect symbol of all their dreams. A professor friend of mine inadvertently pointed this out recently. He was uncertain whether to show a movie based on a Kennedy press conference. "They will all start crying again," he said.

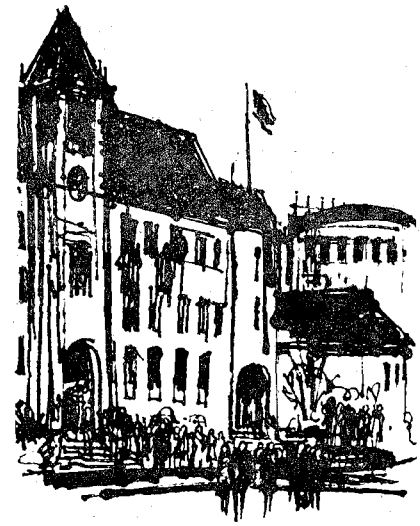
Today's college students could not vote for Kennedy, and they contributed little to his acceleration to power, but they identified totally with him. They even believe he was sent to them. With President Kennedy, who understood their aspirations, they would have reformed the world—and thus saved man from mass suicide. After all, this generation was born as Hiroshima died.

What better evidence of their loyalty than the brilliant expositions which appeared in college and high school newspapers after the President's death—in general showing much greater depth of loss than did the adult press, even though the students were more uncertain in style. The students pin the assassination mercilessly to the older generations. The act was fully characteristic of the genius for destruction.

The prosecution sums up: "You set off the atomic bomb. You were complacent until Dachau. Your Depression wasn't so Great. You got trapped in Korea. Now, you want to threaten my life in some place like Vietnam. You assassinated Kennedy and gave me in his place a professional politician from Texas. Your generation has failed us and yourselves utterly. We are much better equipped to make decisions and to take control."

That is why, when a chancellor says he has made a decision, that it is final, and that he expects all loyal students to abide by it, he gets jeered. The older generation represents to them dogmatism and self-righteousness that have produced two world wars, a depression, a political inquisition, a rising crime rate and a dehumanization of city ethics, among other things. To prevent further blunders, they refuse to extend blind loyalty, even though they may revere personally the man who asks for it. "If only he had given us a reason we could accept," said students after the demonstrations at Syracuse.

Mississippi is still another symbol of the perfidy of the elders. Many students spent the summer there and have returned to Northern campuses to exert greater pressures against any society that tolerates a Mississippi in its midst. The attitude toward rights has led to consistent interracial dating on campuses, to great enthusiasm for civil rights groups, for pickets and sit-ins and parades. These students consider



themselves the true warriors of the times, fighters in new, nonviolent terms.

Another thing that angers the college student is the feeling that he has been belittled by his elders. He is misunderstood, for instance, when he confronts established authority and is accused of falling in, blindly or otherwise, with Communists or other demagogues. He is misunderstood when he demonstrates against the House Un-American Activities Committee, not because that group is anti-Comunist but because many times it has been anti-student. He is misunderstood by the new President. The student tried to transfer allegiance from Kennedy but discovered that Johnson talked down to him, patted him on the head, used him for such political showpieces as convention dancing girls.

Even in college, he feels patronized. He is in search of enriched intellect and too often finds himself treated like a youngster. He is fobbed off with graduate students as teachers. He is governed by a bourgeois ethic that is fundamentally caste and many times alien to his own background. He is given too many cut-and-paste assignments. He is lectured at and rarely reasoned with. He feels creativity blunted and stunted at every turn. His health and morality are fretted over, but rarely his intellect. He feels like his teen-age hero-victim, Holden Caulfield, arrested in his years, seeking the ideal and hating to accept the real.

The student sometimes feels robbed of his heritage. He has been told again and again that his path has been cleared of obstacles by the elders. He can live his life in leisure and luxury because the affluent

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utopia is here and now. Unfortunately this student has been so well educated that his mind needs mission, not materialism. He can live without the TV Westerns and continental wardrobes and souped-up Bentleys that his older brothers and sisters settled for. That is one reason why he joins the Peace Corps and tramps off to poverty and underprivilege.

At times, in desperation, he tries to escape his frustration by challenging morality—by reading, for instance, great gobs of Rechy and Henry Miller and Styron. He dances the Watusi and the monkey because that makes the elders squirm, but these are angry reactions; they do not truly represent the student.

So "action" may be just a little jeering of a university president (most students feel badly about it and some write the president to apologize). More seriously, it may be violence as at Berkeley and at Buffalo. It will be manifested in many other ways this year and next. The point is, this college generation will not be shoved aside or await its seniority. They are not kids, as one columnist wrote recently, whose main problem is still acne. They come from a generation that sees the world much differently than do its predecessors. And, although not necessarily the offspring of Dr. Frankenstein, they are beginning to feel a compulsion to power, a need to rise up against elder authority—for their own preservation and the world's.

Birth Control: End of a Taboo . . David Burnham

The national consensus on almost any given subject seems to trail President Johnson about as regularly as a caboose follows the locomotive. So his State of the Union promise to deal with the population explosion probably can be read as a clear signal that the American people have decided the government may encourage birth control.

The compact, twenty-five-word sentence in the State of the Union message was the most direct statement ever made by an American President on a subject which most experts agree is one of man's two or three most serious problems:

> *I will seek new ways to use our knowledge to help deal with the explosion in world population and the growing scarcity in world resources.*

And even as he talked, the Office of Economic Opportunity gave a Corpus Christi war-on-poverty project $12,580 to support local birth control clinics. A number of other cities have requested and will be granted similar federal grants.

That the United States has now openly embarked on a broad birth control program is the final step in a revolutionary change that has taken place in American policy during the last five years.

It was on December 2, 1959, that President Eisenhower expressed his administration's know-nothing birth control policy: "This government will not . . . as long as I am here, have a positive political doctrine in its program that has to do with the birth control. That's not our business."

And it was little more than a year and a half ago, on April 23, 1963, that a young Roman Catholic President decided birth control must be the government's business: "If your question is can we do more, should we do more, about the reproductive cycle, and should this information be made available to the world so everyone can make his own decision, I think it would be a matter we could support."

During the twenty-one months since President Kennedy decided that the United States could no longer close its eyes to the world's population explosion, an equally dramatic, if largely unnoticed, revolution has taken place among the bureaucrats and Congressmen of Washington. This change can be seen in a still unpublished order dispatched last spring from the State Department to the Foreign Aid officers attached to every embassy in South America. The new order, cleared at the highest level of government, instructed the aid missions to start encouraging local birth control programs. American financial backing was promised for all research, training and development programs short of the actual distribution of contraceptives.

The new attitude is almost as visible at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, where without a murmur of dissent Congress last year approved a $4 million reproductive biology research program for the National Institutes of Health. It can be seen also in the open and unabashed enthusiasm about the challenge of the birth control problem expressed by the new director of the NIH's recently formed National Institute of Child Health and Human Development. And finally it can be seen in the complete lack of Congressional opposition to the six birth control clinics which have been operating for more than a year in Washington, D. C.

Five years ago, all of these developments would have been unthinkable. What prompted this surprising change in the government's thinking about a previously taboo subject is not entirely clear. Certainly the 1958 election of a powerfully pragmatic Pope named John was a major factor. More than any specific message, Pope John's encouragement of plain talk between Catholic and Protestant seemed to clear the air. Suddenly it appeared that the areas of agreement were larger than those of disagreement. After all, both sides accepted the fact that family planning is necessary if the family—the basic thread in the fabric of society—was to survive. Only the secondary question of how this was to be accomplished separated Catholicism from the other faiths.

Then, halfway around the world from the ancient city of Rome, in that sprawling state of mind called Los Angeles, the 1960 Democratic Convention chose a Roman Catholic standard-bearer. Because of his religion—and because of the pugnacious tradition of the American press—the reporters kept questioning Kennedy about his attitude toward birth control. By the time he had won the election, the new President knew more about the social

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and economic realities of birth control than any previous occupant of the White House.

(His knowledge, of course, had to come from somewhere. One of the best sources of information—and perhaps the ultimate spring from which the new reasonableness flows—is the Population Center of the United Nations. Established immediately after World War II, this center has played a major role in changing world attitudes toward birth control simply by publishing reliable population statistics.)

But the gulf between pronouncement and action, between a press-conference statement and real programs, can often be an impossible distance in an organization as large as the United States Government. Thus the response to Kennedy's liberating words was not immediate. More than a year later, on May 11, 1964, the five-page single-spaced directive finally emerged from the State Department and was dispatched to South America. Each mission of the Agency for International Development was instructed to appoint an officer to handle the population program for the host country. These programs were to be given "priority" when it came to making budget requests. They would be designed to "assist host governments as fully and effectively as possible in areas of (a) information, (b) training, (c) research, and (d) institution building."

The State Department took pains not to push any of the host countries further than they wanted to go, or for that matter to stir up a fuss in the United States. The embassies were instructed to offer all possible assistance in the birth control area "without generating undesirable controversy either here or in Latin America." It became known, however, that the only population program the United States was not willing to finance was the actual purchase and distribution of contraceptives. As this is written, the United States has already given one $100,000 grant to a demographic center closely related to the University of Peru, and a score of other projects—including funds for research on the physical questions of birth control—are now in the works.

The State Department is not quite as daring as it may appear to be. For in addition to the direct order of the President—not always the final word, of course—State has also received a surprising amount of encouragement from Congress. In a little noticed action during the summer of 1963, the House and Senate amended the standing foreign-aid authorization bill to add a phrase approving the use of funds "to conduct research into the problems of population growth."

The new attitude in Congress can also be detected in the printed hearings of the House Appropriations Committee. Without a moment's hesitation, Dr. Robert Aldrich, director of the new National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, told the Congressmen last year that reproductive biology was unquestionably one of the four or five research areas of "very high priority." And the appropriations subcommittee, to which the matter was referred, with Rep. John E. Fogarty in the chair, didn't blink when Aldrich told it that he planned a 33 per cent increase—from $4.2 million in 1964 to $5.5 million in 1965—in the Institute's reproduction research program.

As the discussion with the subcommittee continued, Dr. James A. Shannon, director of the parent National Institutes of Health and Aldrich's boss, offered his interpretation of what Congress wanted the Institute to accomplish in the birth control research programs:

We fully accept that there is a very broad relationship between population growth, population dynamics and human and embryo development. But population growth and population dynamics are not our problems as a technical organization. These problems are more related to the socio-economic field rather than the medical field. But medically we view certain aspects of the population problem as basic problems in fertility and reproduction.

Shannon thus seemed to be telling Congress, without a hint of criticism from the committee members, that the NIH are engaged in an active birth control research program which would stick to the medical problems and stay away from the broad policy questions.

During a recent interview in NIH's skyscraper just outside Washington, Dr. Aldrich enlarged on Shannon's guideline:

There is no longer any inhibition about doing basic birth control research, but we have avoided getting into direct services.

Let me give a specific example. We don't feel our money should go to a doctor developing a new kind of uterine coil, just as we wouldn't spend money on developing a new splint. But we would support a research program designed to study the effectiveness of uterine coils on a given population.

In fact, there are very few types of research we cannot now support. The old political problem has virtually disappeared.

The virtual disappearance of the political problem isn't limited to the medical research portion of birth control. It also applies to the actual distribution of contraceptives and to advice on how to use them. In the District of Columbia last spring, the Public Health Department opened six birth control clinics, offering free contraceptives to women receiving relief under the Aid to Dependent Children program. About 200 women a month are now using the clinics. The budget was $25,000 during fiscal year 1964, and the District commissioners have set aside $50,000 for the clinics in 1965.

A portion of these funds—about 11 per cent—comes from the federal government's annual contribution to the District of Columbia, and the program was specifically approved by the House District Appropriations Committee and later by the full Congress. This in a city where almost every Congressman likes to think of himself as a mayor.

There were other clues that President Johnson did not intend to back away from the population problem. Perhaps the most significant came about a month before the election, when the doctor in charge of the birth control program within the Alliance for Progress was quietly dispatched to Rome for talks with the Pope about the South American population programs.

The warm reception from the Vatican must be balanced with what appears to be a ceremonial coolness from American Catholicism. A few days after President Johnson's declaration on the population explosion, an official of the National Catholic Welfare Council dutifully reaffirmed Catholic opposition to government-financed birth control programs.

Nevertheless, with Mr. Johnson's message to the Congress and the people, the barrier against government involvement in population programs appears finally to be smashed.

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Far From the Heavenly City

THE FEDERAL BULLDOZER: A Critical Analysis of Urban Renewal. 1949-1962. By Martin Anderson. The M.I.T. Press. 272 pp. $5.95.

Scott Greer

It is recommended that the federal urban renewal program be repealed now. No new projects should be authorized; the program should be phased out by completing, as soon as possible, all current projects. The federal urban renewal program conceived in 1949 had admirable goals. Unfortunately it has not and cannot achieve them. Only free enterprise can.

This angry book makes a convincing case for the essential weaknesses of our urban renewal efforts. Martin Anderson, a professor in the Columbia Business School, has diligently aggregated a great deal of data describing the program and has attempted a cost-benefit analysis. He argues that rather than increasing the housing supply accessible to poor people and segregated minorities, the program has destroyed such housing and replaced it with a smaller amount of much more expensive housing; that it has not "revitalized" the cities and their central business districts, but simply caused some change in the location of buildings that would have been built elsewhere; that it has not increased the tax base in the cities, much less that in the country as a whole; that it is, in these terms, an abject failure. He also argues that the condemnation of one's property in order to resell it to other, richer people, is immoral and unconstitutional.

It is certainly time we examined this fertility ritual as it is working out in hundreds of our cities. Unfortunately, Anderson's case is marred by his tendency to double talk, to argue unfairly: at one point he tells us what a big and expensive program it is, at another point he tells us how trivial it is as measured against gross national product, public expenditures or the construction industry as a whole. In another ploy he emphasizes the complexity of the urban renewal process and the slow pace of achievement as an indication that it is wrong, yet his argument for the private real estate market is based upon the extreme complexity of the processes by which cities get built and rebuilt.

His case is also damaged by his penchant for poor writing and his addiction to cant. Occasionally he can wield an ironic sentence: "Most of the growth (of the program) has been concentrated in the preparatory stages. Substantial progress has been made with respect to the number of persons forced from their homes, the number of businesses forcibly displaced, the number of buildings demolished, and the amount of public money spent on improving the cleared ground." Yet in the next paragraph he says: "A relatively insignificant number of projects have actually been completed," followed almost immediately by the statement, "The number of projects actually completed is quite small." The paragraph quoted at the beginning of the article is a fair sample of cant; it is accompanied by statements that "The right to own private property is synonymous with freedom," and ". . . the right of property is probably the most important of all human rights." Such statements not only fail to add weight to the argument, they camouflage the real meaning of the work and give his opponents pretext for dismissing it.

I have deeper disagreements with the book. First, I think that Anderson's savage focus on the program and on its results produces a curiously timeless and superficial analysis. The major constraints within which urban renewal has operated are political, at the federal and the local level and in the interactions between them; this aspect is ignored. The major condition which is not taken enough into account by the programs is simply the rapid and popular decentralization of residential housing in our cities; it is not discussed. More loose talk about that *deus ex machina*, "the market," is no substitute for theoretical analysis of what is, after all, a complex and fascinating effort at innovation.

More serious than its atheoretical nature, however, is the book's emptiness with respect to alternatives. In this respect, it is a confession of bankruptcy. After all, the stews of our urban scene, the cacophonic jungles which pass for public space, were created by that same "free enterprise" which Anderson invokes to solve our problems. Free enterprise in the use of land is the precise reason for the unsightly horrors of the central cities; free enterprise in government, which allows any piddling enclave of resi-

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Dream Song

The surly cop lookt out at me in sleep
insect-like. Guess, who was the insect.
I'd asked him in my robe
& hospital gown in the elevator politely
why someone saw so many police around,
and without speaking he looked.

A meathead, and of course he was armed, to creep
across my nervous system some time ago wrecked.
I saw the point of Loeb
at last, to give oneself over to crime wholly,
baffle, torment, roar laughter, or without sound
attend while he is cooked

until with trembling hands hoist I my true
& legal ax, to get at the brains. I never liked brains —
it's the texture & the thought —
but I will like them now, spooning at you,
my guardian, slowly, until at length the rains
lose heart and the sun flames out.

John Berryman

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dents to incorporate themselves and use police power to segregate Negroes, is a major reason for the slums. Anderson seems to prescribe more of the same. In this respect, his admiration for the goals of the program is meaningless.

Still, the data are there and are roughly correct in my opinion. We are spending billions of dollars to destroy low-cost housing. We are subsidizing banks and revitalizing central business districts by pouring water from one pitcher into another. And the program has been existent for fifteen years. This raises the question: If it is possible to analyze the program and come to these findings, why have we not used social science research before? How could, and should, social science be related to social policy?

It seems to me that it should not play the role of the doctor who arrives in time to declare the patient dead. Instead, the techniques of social science should be used from the conception of a program, and throughout its course, constantly evaluating the consequences; a continuing cost-benefit analysis should monitor all of our public business, and particularly our bumbling efforts to innovate. (One would hope that the "War on Poverty" would have built into its program careful effect studies.) It is time that we dropped the tacit slogan, "billions for action and not a cent for knowledge."

To be sure, there are ready rationalizations for blindness to the consequences of the program, even among agency personnel. Research is a bad word on Capitol Hill; Congressmen are suspicious of any project not easily understandable by the voters in their districts; getting things off the drawing board is more important than new knowledge. Even more important, I suspect, is the natural tendency to identify oneself with a program. Once this has occurred, many unpleasant facts are swept under the rug at headquarters, while one tells the world (and Congress) how beautifully all is turning out. But this has the frightening result of forcing one to continue, regardless of consequences; in effect, you have to say to the world, "We were always right. We made no mistakes."

So the criticism will be done by outsiders, by Anderson and Jane Jacobs and Herbert Gans, to mention a few. It will be seen as an attack and treated as such. This, I think, is a strong argument for increasing the research budget of all federal programs, not just to provide ammunition for the battle but, hopefully, to make possible conflict on more significant grounds. Meanwhile books such as this, overstating tentative findings, mixing statements of value and statements of fact in such a way as to smuggle in business-school ideology—such books are necessary. And because they will have the blemishes noted, it is good to have as many perspectives represented as possible.

Meanwhile the goals remain. To create a more orderly and pleasing city, to see that all American families do have "a decent home and a suitable environment," to create and maintain exciting public space—these are values for which there is widespread support. It will increase as the nation as a whole becomes better educated, better paid, more highly skilled in symbolic manipulation. But this urge moves within the political culture which prescribes so much local autonomy that the true urban renewal effort results from a tug of war between local politicians and the federal agency. It moves within a culture which insists that nothing which can earn a buck should be left for the government—throwing the program to the mercy of real estate speculators and leaving the agency to deal with the local real estate market as best it can.

Urban renewal as it exists dramatizes the schizoid character of our public purpose. Is government only to maintain the minimal order within which aggregated wealth determines direction? Or is it to take responsibility for the public purpose, moving the earthly city toward the heavenly city? Further, at what level should this purpose be generated? Among the higher civil servants in Washington, estimable men but perhaps a little removed from the neighborhoods? Or should it be generated among the citizens of this particular city, by the elite of this city or by *vox populi*? These are some major questions that must be considered when we try to understand urban renewal. I am afraid that Mr. Anderson gives us, not so much an analysis of the program, as a live demonstration of the values which have so much to do with its weaknesses.

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Where Man and Nature Conspire

URBAN LANDSCAPE DESIGN. By Garrett Eckbo. McGraw-Hill Book Co. 239 pp., illus. $16.50.

MODERN GARDENS AND THE LANDSCAPE. By Elizabeth B. Kassler. Doubleday & Company. 96 pp., illus. $5.95 cloth, $2.75 paper.

Frederick Gutheim

A garden is the work of man—using the materials of nature. It reflects what man understands about nature, and tells us what man thinks about his own needs. Thus in history, the art of gardens takes its place beside architecture and urban design in making the human environment. In the great cities so distinctive of our time, gardens quietly measure our civilization.

Today, gardens are made by landscape architects. Our rich endowment of natural sciences and engineering technologies have become the tools of organized creative talent. Thus the garden-making task which other civilizations have found performed by poets, philosophers and artists, we have relegated to technicians. One of the most perceptive and conscientious of these technicians is the California landscape architect Garrett Eckbo, who has provided characteristic views of gardens today as well as insights into his professional practice. In his book we can see in detail both the aims of a great landscape designer and the obstacles

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he must overcome to translate these plans into gardens, parks and cities.

Eckbo's introductory chapters will be illuminating and persuasive to those who think of cities simply as buildings and people. The author's intensity is reflected in his clipped syllogistic style: "Trees are the friends of man. The environment which is good for trees is good for people, and that which is bad for trees is likewise bad for people. Trees and people should band together against the unwholesome ugliness of most city living." But this style is amplified sufficiently in the hundreds of photographs and drawings which persuasively illustrate his original arguments. In this realistic presentation of individual projects and solutions, general principles are given specific application.

To appreciate the importance of urban landscape design we must understand how much cities depend for an attractive appearance upon their natural framework, their parks and open spaces, and the still finer grain of their private landscape and gardens. In each of these gradations Eckbo provides useful examples as well as discussion. Most of all, he puts them together in a clear and coherent fashion. In the recent body of almost hysterical literature protesting the ugliness of American cities and the desecration of roadsides and landscape, there have been few constructive proposals. Those who find themselves spurred to action will find more sound advice in Eckbo's book than in any other.

Of the public measures that should be taken to improve our human environment, priority needs to be given natural beauty in its many forms. In the current rapid rate of metropolitan growth, and especially in suburban communities, we have failed to keep abreast of park needs. Worse, existing city parks have been allowed to become obsolete and now need redesigning, and many parks have been allowed to deteriorate through poor maintenance. These conditions are, of course, most prevalent in the very low-income areas which are most in need of public open space. Before the fresh impact of federally aided work programs hits city parks, however, some hard thinking about how they should be designed is in order. We need both the vision of a new life for cities and their people and the assurance of its practicability found in Eckbo's book.

A highly compatible but more poetic survey of gardens is provided by Elizabeth Kassler in her *Modern Gardens and the Landscape*. She writes not of the social values or practical aspects of parks so much as a rather subjective and cultural view of the landscape. We are introduced to the great moments of landscape art in the formal architectural tradition, to the English 18th-century garden; due attention is given to the contributions of China, Japan and the Moslem world, before embarking upon the contemporary scene. Precisely because Mrs. Kassler's is so intensely personal a view, we can identify ourselves with it more readily, and her carefully selected illustrations are profoundly convincing. It is a wise and undated view of the landscape art, one that deliberately ignores the fashions of the moment while thoroughly aware of present needs and interests.

"We are out of joint with nature," Mrs. Kassler observes, "and out of joint with our own natures as a consequence. If this is the way it must be, then art and nature are best kept separate from each other."

But in her survey of modern landscape design she finds—for some—an alternative. "If, on the other hand, visible nature is not hopelessly and absurdly irrelevant to the human condition, if there is still a chance for us to find ourselves within a whole, perhaps landscape art can help us to a sense of meaningful relationship." Given the evidence in her book, there can be no doubt of it.

On the whole, Mrs. Kassler deserves the last word:

> *. . . the work of fitting people to the land, and fitting the land to the people, must be undertaken with much the same care for action and interaction that a forester might apply to his far simpler problems of ecology. And since a measure of beauty seems the happy by-product of any ecologically sound approach to land use, it is unlikely that our physical environment will be ugly if it is planned to respect both the nature of man and the nature of nature.*

In the quest for the Great Society it now seems likely that we shall be ending the paradox of private affluence and public squalor that has left its mark in recent decades upon our cities. Our new-found concern with natural beauty and urban design will find strong support in these two books which so neatly complement each other as they each add, in their own fashion, to our understanding of the visible world around us.

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The Midwestern Vision

THE CHICAGO SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE. By Carl W. Condit. University of Chicago Press. 238 pp., illus. $8.50.

John Jacobus

Only in the Chicago Loop can one nowadays find a veritable thicket of tall commercial buildings belonging to the period around 1900. They are not so high or so picturesquely spired as those in the financial district of New York, nor do they benefit from a site so epic as the hills and harbor of San Francisco. Instead, they are more repetitive, regular and uniform; moreover, they are packed more closely together. The occasional masterpiece fits discreetly alongside its less inspired neighbor; in Chicago the building of special quality stands out by its refinements rather than its idiosyncrasies. Furthermore, this visually inspired concentration of regularly shaped towers flies in the face of much 20th-century urban theory, which abhors density of any sort and accepts it in practice only grudgingly.

A disproportionate amount of American architectural progress since the Civil War has taken place in and around Chicago. Most writers, including Professor Condit, see functionalism as the chief virtue of this school, and consider that progressive structural technology was the major creative stimulus for its architects. Certainly these artists made a virtue out of several harsh facts of life, specifically soaring land values, construction dictated by stringent economy and the gradual evolution of iron and steel as used by the building industry. But these were not the causes per se of the Chicago School; they were the challenges which evoked a maximum reaction from several architects of genius or talent who were simply waiting in the wings for their cue.

Nor has Chicago ever been wanting in apologists and proselytizers. Its two most famous genii, Sullivan and Wright (neither was native-born), were sprightly, aggressive writers, and neither was ever inclined to understate the importance of his own personal contribution to the city's skyline and suburb. No doubt the most incongruous trait of the city's greatest living architect today, Mies van der Rohe, is his totally un-Chicagoan taciturnity in the face of this garrulous verbal heritage.

Carl W. Condit's *The Rise of the Skyscraper*, 1952, occupies a distinguished place in the literature of Chicago architecture, and the same author's present book is a revised and vastly expanded version of that older study, published now with the assistance of the Graham Foundation. The length of the text seems to have been very nearly doubled, and the number of illustrations increased from 108 to 196. The chapter headings remain the same in the new volume, and much of the old text is recognizable in the midst of fresh material. By and large this expansion, while offering much additional, useful detail, has slightly obscured the original clarity of organization. I am almost tempted to suggest the old book as better serving the interests of the general reader, in spite of the obvious benefits of expansion.

In the earlier edition it made good sense to treat the overlapping careers of the major architectural firms in separate chapters. Now, with the text much richer in examples and illustrations, we would have benefited from a more unified, impersonal approach, one which would have led us year by year through the crucial decades of the eighties and nineties when the four major contributory firms, Jenney and Mundie, Burnham and Root, Holabird and Roche, and Adler and Sullivan were hecticly exchanging ideas and concepts. The feverishly competitive joint effort in the creation of the skyscraper style is obscured by Professor Condit's monadic organization, and no amount of cross-referencing can truly succeed in revealing the unity of his subject. What transpired in Chicago architecture in those days was every bit as much a collaborative joint effort as was the invention of the Gothic style in the Ile de France in the 12th century.

One further, secondary reservation about this fine work concerns its relative parochialism. I recognize that Mr. Condit's subject is Chicago architecture by itself. However, there is rather too much of an implication throughout that the Chicago accomplishment took place in isolation. True, passing reference is made to influences from back East and from Europe; in particular, the author introduces some new material concerning the influence of mid-19th-century Philadelphia architecture upon subsequent Midwestern developments. Unfortunately, this evidence is offered up diffidently, without the necessary illustrations that would have made it decisive and convincing, and without making specific acknowledgment to his sources.

These objections apart, we can be thankful for Professor Condit's willingness to go over the same ground one more time. In particular his detailed account of the gradual introduction of steel into the technique of framed construction is useful. From his observations it becomes evident that the skeleton frame did not come into being overnight, but was the product of gradual evolution.

The concluding chapter is not restricted to merely the big structures of the post-World War II period (by Mies

John Jacobus teaches the history of art at Indiana University.

Two Songs

1.
Sex, as they harshly call it,
I fell into this morning
at ten o'clock, a drizzling hour
of traffic and wet newspapers.
I thought of him who yesterday
clearly didn't
turn me to a hot field
ready for plowing,
and longing for that young man
pierced me to the roots,
bathing every vein, etc.
All day he appears to me
touchingly desirable,
a prize one could wreck one's peace for.
I'd call it love if love
didn't take so many years
but lust too is a jewel
a sweet flower and what
pure happiness to know
all our hightoned questions
breed in a lively animal.

2.
That 'old last act'!
And yet sometimes
all seems post coitum triste
and I a mere bystander.
Somebody else is going off,
getting shot to the moon.
Or, a moon-race!
Split seconds after
my opposite number lands
I make it—
we lie fainting together
at a crater-edge
heavy as mercury in our moon-suits
till he speaks—
in a different language
yet one I've picked up
through cultural exchanges . . .
we murmur the first moonwords:
Spasibo. Thanks. O.K.

Adrienne Rich

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and by his disciples on the staffs of Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, and C. F. Murphy Associates) but gives generous space to noncommercial works by Dwight Perkins, Barry Byrne, William Drummond, Walter Burley Griffin and John S. Van Bergen. These men are more properly classed under Prof. Allen Brooks's heading, The Prairie School; their style is domestic and horizontal, not urban and vertical as is the case with the Loop skyscrapers. However, the two modes of architectural expression are not unrelated; they grew up together and occasionally the same person built in both manners.

The Colors of Prophecy

WILLIAM BLAKE: POET, PRINTER, PROPHET. By Geoffrey Keynes. Orion Press. 99 pp., illus. $15.

John E. Grant

In life as well as in books the imagination finds incessant reminders that human nature is carnal, that the conscious mind is both superficial and important, that dreams are expressively meaningful, that God must be Man, that history records the death wish rampant, and that common sense results in only one (and probably not the best) way of looking at the world. Wisdom, unlike science, can have no beginning. Columbus did not discover that the world is round and Freud did not discover that the mind is deep.

The task of prophecy is to assure that mankind retains the fullest consciousness of such truths. For William Blake, the arts were the chief medium of prophecy because they open the mind to the potentialities as well as the actualities of the world. His radical belief is that civilization is a seamless fabric, and that the person unable to recognize beauty also suffers from a crippled perception of truth and goodness.

The art resulting from such premises could not be other than revolutionary both in content and form. Conventional society in Blake's own time usually reacted with indifference to his violent originality, but when his work was noticed at all, it was generally denounced. He suffered from harassment more blind and virulent than that heaped on the younger generations of Romantic artists. At the height of his powers he was tried for treason and also accused of licentiousness, vanity, unintelligibility and lunacy as an artist and as a man.

Blake's most original accomplishments as poet and artist are his illuminated books which he produced from 1788 until his death in 1827. In addition to much other work in literature, painting and graphics, Blake composed, etched, printed, colored and bound these fifteen separate works of philosophy, satire and lyric and epic verse. The basis for these books were etched copper plates containing designs and writings from which identical inked prints could be made at any time. Blake colored the prints by hand and he continually varied both the hues and the intensities, often adding or obliterating significant pictorial details.

When the same page was colored thirty years after the initial version, it often turned out to be a new work of art. Thus, Blake's best-loved lyric, "The Lamb" in *Songs of Innocence*, exists in more than fifty separate illuminated versions, any of which might be of peculiar interest. Yet to view even one copy under congenial conditions is difficult. Those kept in great libraries, such as the New York Public Library or the Pierpont Morgan, are usually bound and can only be displayed one page at a time. Like most of Blake's paintings they are not kept on continuous exhibition anywhere in this country because they are water colors which are extremely perishable.

In order to make these great works more accessible, a group of art collectors joined in forming the William Blake Trust, to superintend the publication of superb handmade facsimiles of the illuminated books. Seven facsimiles have so far been issued, though these have necessarily been expensive limited editions. In 1964, a traveling exhibition containing both original copies and facsimiles was organized and it will be shown in various cities and universities during the next two years. The volume here reviewed is a substantially expanded version of the handbook for this exhibition. Since no book comparable to this one is now in print at moderate price, its publication is an important event.

This volume contains generally high quality 6-and-8-inch color reproductions of fifty-nine pages selected from eight illuminated books, as well as an introductory essay by Sir Geoffrey Keynes, the distinguished Blake scholar and guiding spirit of the Blake Trust. Brief head notes are provided for the examples from each book. The plates reproduced constitute about one-sixth of Blake's total production of separate designs, and give a fair sample of his range of invention. Unfortunately the eight plates from *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* have been reduced in

ACADEMIC WOMEN

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The Pennsylvania State University Press

University Park, Pennsylvania

John E. Grant is the editor of Discussions of William Blake *and is presently working on a book to be entitled* Blake's Designs of Innocence and of Experience.

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size by one-fifth and are quite badly blurred.

Despite such technical flaws, the book gives an indication of how Blake's fusion of design and text produces a complex and unique artistic experience. All other attempts to unify the arts are essentially different in some particulars. For example, book illustration, which was Blake's bread-and-butter profession, is comparable in that it is reproducible, but the relationship between text and picture is accidental, and in a certain sense arbitrary, and the writer and artist are of course distinct. A closer similarity may be found in Chinese poetry where the art consists as much in the beautiful calligraphy as in the perfection of the wording, but this work is not designed to be duplicated. What we miss when we read Blake in a conventionally printed text (a medium in which he never allowed his major writings to appear) is comparable to what we miss when we read printed texts of screenplays. However interesting it may be to "read" Bergman's *The Seventh Seal*, no one can experience the work itself anywhere but on a movie screen.

Book *illustration* subordinates pictures to words and merely depicts chief story episodes as close as possible to the text being visualized. In Blake's *illuminations*, however, the relationship between pictures and text is that of independent but related variables somewhat like the parts played by the two hands in piano music. "Songs of Innocence and of Experience" are generally presented complete on a single page, and the picture often seems to contradict the mood and implication of the poem. Blake's "London" is one of the grimmest lyrics in the language, stopping just short of total despair over the social deprivations caused by war and exploitation. The main accompanying picture, on the contrary, shows the decrepit patriarch of the city being led by a little child out of his benighted streets. One implication of this antithetical design is that neither the pessimistic nor the optimistic vision is sufficient by itself for the prophetic imagination.

Unfortunately, the reader of this volume will not be able to grasp the longer prophecies as he can the "Songs." There are seldom enough plates from a particular work to make clear the oblique connections between related pictures and texts, which often appear on different pages. Such oversights are a disadvantage to Blake's "ideal reader" who, like Joyce's, should be blessed with "ideal insomnia." By and large, the selection of plates in this edition must be appreciated for the energies displayed, rather than understood as "allegory addressed to the intellectual powers," as Blake intended.

But even the reader who wishes to look at these pages simply as painting might have been better served in two ways. First, Blake did not always color copies of his illuminated books, but these were so often handsomely printed that they have independent validity and at least a few plates should have been included in uncolored form. Second, it should have been made visually evident how drastically Blake's coloring changed from his early pale, transparent pastels to his late hot, opaque primary hues. Unfortunately, almost all the pages reproduced are from late copies and thus give no adequate idea of the range of color in the thousands of pages Blake completed.

While it is necessary to criticize the editorial judgment in this volume, one must also recognize that as editor, bibliographer, expositor and collector, Sir Geoffrey Keynes has for fifty years done more than any other man in fostering knowledge and appreciation of Blake's work. And in this volume he has written a very readable and informative summary of many matters relating to Blake's art and life. Since Keynes has often discussed these subjects before, there is little really new in this essay, but the occasion requires a balanced introduction rather than novel insights and this in general he has provided.

Two points in his essay require some correction. The first is Keynes's tendency to exaggerate hermetic and eccentric elements in Blake's pictorial symbolism and his consequent remark that interpretation of the designs "can never be more than tentative." Blake hated indefiniteness and is no more obscure than other great and complex allegorical painters—Bosch, say, or Mantegna. More serious is Keynes's cautious failure to indicate how often Blake inspires feelings of essential insight or total comprehension. Significantly, in discussing *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, he does not even mention Blake's doctrine of expanded sense perception, visionary transport not dependent on chemical stimulants. For example, the reader of "The Blossom," that pleasant somewhat vague lyric, will be astonished when he sees a wild flame tree dominating the design. On reflection he discovers that he is confronted by a visual image of what Dylan Thomas was to call "the force that through the green fuse drives the flower," an energy which readers in their merely rational moments never expect to set eyes on.

In the balance every audience from amateur to specialist will be pleased by this volume. Nevertheless, it should be made clear that a picture book made up of striking plates can at most indicate what an illuminated book is like, rather than what it is.

Science Fiction Theatre

John J. McLaughlin

To Ray Bradbury a toaster is an idea encrusted in chrome. A small idea, perhaps—one involving the relationship of heat to bread—but nevertheless an idea. More complex machines such as automobiles, TV sets, computers and missiles conceal ideas of a more complex sort. We are surrounded by these machine-ideas, says Bradbury, and we scarcely give them a thought. Yet they influence our lives more directly than Plato's forms or Aristotle's universals ever did.

Bradbury is a man who is seriously concerned with the ideas that machines have woven around us. One of the most prolific and widely read science fiction writers, he has written more than 300 short stories and several novels. Much of the bulk of his fiction has been concerned with a single theme—the loss of human values to the machine. Now Bradbury has brought his message to a new medium, the theatre, and, typically, he has mustered all the resources of imagination, talent and ingenuity available to make the stage speak for him with the effectiveness of the printed page.

"The World of Ray Bradbury," an evening of three one-act plays, opened in Los Angeles to generally favorable reviews. The appearance of a theatrical company dedicated to producing his own work represents more than dabbling in a new literary form for Brad-

John J. McLaughlin, a former INS news editor, now teaches at UCLA. He is writing a book, Cruelty in Comedy, *about aggression in comic drama.*

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bury. It is a full commitment to put time, energy and money into the theatre. He has spent $20,000 out of his own pocket, gathered a professional group of actors and stage technicians, and set out to establish a permanent theatre where his plays can be staged for as long as he cares to write them.

Two of the three plays now running, *The Pedestrian* and *The Veldt*, examine the future effects of two of our most proliferating machines: the automobile and the television set. One of the favorite techniques of science fiction writers is to take a contemporary problem and push it to its logical extreme. What happens, for example, when cars and TV sets insinuate themselves increasingly into our lives? Quite simple: no one walks any longer. So *The Pedestrian* is set in 1990—as are all three of the plays—when it is illegal to be out on the street at night on foot. A nonconformist drags his friend away from his TV set to sample the forbidden fruit: the smell of night air, the sound of crickets, the sight of a jeweled sky, the feel of grass. They are detected by a patrol car, robot driven, speaking in a voice taped by someone long since dead, and the dangerous pedestrian is carted away to a psychiatric center.

In *The Veldt*, television is pushed to the point where it becomes a "complete environment"—a room where one is surrounded by three-dimensional pictures that reproduce any spot on earth with perfect realism. A man and his wife install such a TV playroom for their children and bustle them off to the room to keep them from under foot. But instead of duplicating the wonders of Egypt, the spectacle of Niagara, or any of the other enticements in the machine's repertory, the children keep the dial locked on a single ominous scene: an African veldt inhabited by lions that tear flesh from unidentified carcasses. The denouement is not too surprising: the children, psychotic from lack of love, lock their parents in the room, and during a blackout the audience hears them being torn to pieces by lions that have somehow become all too real.

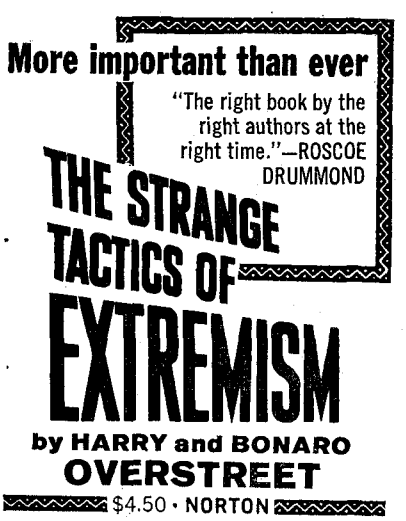
The final play, and in many ways the best of the three, deals with a theme that has concerned Bradbury for some time—mediocrity, and whether or not it has any value. In *To the Chicago Abyss* Bradbury sings a Whitmanesque song in praise of junk. The action takes place after an atomic holocaust when famine and dearth are so complete that remembering the affluent times of the past is forbidden. But an old man appears who cannot forget and cannot keep from talking. He remembers "the junk of a race-track civilization"— the cigarette packages, candy bars, the look of the dashboard on a Cadillac, and the sound of the Duncan sisters. He becomes a fugitive who is doomed because "somehow my tongue moves" and he is compelled to recite his catalogues. Roses are nourished by manure, he says, therefore the "mediocre must be, so that most excellent fine can bloom."

Bradbury buffs will recognize the plots of these plays because all three appeared originally as short stories. There is, of course, nothing new about adapting narrative material to the stage, but in the case of science fiction it presents several difficult problems. As a genre, science fiction combines the plot and moral tone of melodrama with the fantasy of romance, a combination which is a genuine literary novelty. The methods of melodrama are easily accommodated on the stage, but successful fantasy occurs more naturally in narrative fiction where the imagination can create worlds that never were. When fantasy is dramatized, it is usually combined with music, dance and comedy—the worlds of *Camelot* or *Brigadoon* are best evoked by the arts of song and dance. Film is much more congenial to science fiction than the stage because special-effects technicians are able to take the most fantastic imaginings of the writer and actually construct them from plastic or plasterboard. In a movie we don't have to use our imagination—the Martian landscape is there before our eyes.

How is a playwright to place science fiction on the stage? Will a bare stage and an appeal to the audience's imaginative powers be adequate for a play like *The Veldt*? Can we believe in such a machine without some hint of what it looks or sounds like? Bradbury's solution to these problems has been the same as the film maker's: turn it over to the technician. We are presented with a stunning array of futuristic projections and costumes, control panels with blinking lights, and a persistent sound track that bleeps and hums like a satellite orbiting around the balcony.

All this is done with a professionalism that commands admiration, for Bradbury has assembled a technical staff that includes such top Hollywood special-effects men as John Whitney who did many of the futuristic effects for the New York World's Fair. The sound is, on at least one occasion, terrifyingly effective: in the final scene of *The Veldt* where, sitting in the darkness amid horrifying screams, you hear lions about to spring into your lap. But for the most part the technical éclat intrudes upon the play—it becomes gimmicky rather than theatrical, crushing the drama rather than supporting it. The sounds, projections and costumes are attempts to *tell* us rather than to *suggest* what the future may be like. They are particularly obtrusive in the final play, *To the Chicago Abyss*, where Bradbury insists on actually showing the trivia his old man is describing—producing it magically by sleight of hand. The effect is a little like Lady Macbeth doing the sleepwalking scene carrying a bottle of cleaning fluid. This is especially sad, for the play doesn't need the technical hokum; it is sensitively written and well acted and is quite able to get by on its own dramatic values.

Many of the defects of the three plays can be attributed to the difficulties a playwright is bound to encounter when he creates a theatre for his own work. In Bradbury's case the complications were compounded by the fact that this was his initial experience in theatrical production and he had to defer to the judgment of the professionals who surrounded him. Yet he was compelled to make the final decisions—it was his money, after all, and he was the producer. Taking into account inexperience, it is not too surprising that the theatrical balance, which one would expect to be weighted toward action and dialogue in a playwright's theatre, was instead shifted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noisily in the direction of stagecraft.

One of the problems that might have emerged in a theatre company so completely dominated by the playwright never occurred; there was no clash of ego between the author and his professional cast of Equity actors. Bradbury is a man of benign manner but intense loyalty, and he easily won the respect and admiration of his company. His actors, most of whom work in television and films, turned in consistently fine performances. Harold Gould was particularly notable as the memory-plagued survivor in *To the Chicago Abyss*.

When asked recently whether he would do it the same way again, Bradbury refused to make excuses. "The final decisions were mine and I take full responsibility for what appears on the stage," he said. He did admit, however, that if he had learned anything from his first attempt to stage his own work it was "to trust the word." "You've got to believe in your own language," he said. But he is not defensive about his new theatre. "I don't think much of most of the theatre I see today," he said. "I'm not interested in writing an Albee play or a Baldwin play because it's the fashionable thing to do. I'm interested in experimenting with something different and in having fun doing it."

He intends to run the current program until he recovers his investment and then to produce three more. After that he has three comedies ready. He is also making plans to film the three one-acters now running and there is a possibility that they will be produced off-Broadway.

Bradbury is in an enviable position as a playwright, having made enough money from his writing to subsidize his own company, and prolific enough as a writer to keep it going indefinitely if he chooses. In effect, he has found his own cure for one of the endemic sicknesses of the American theatre: the playwright's subservience to the profit motive. This independence is made possible, of course, by the fact that he has a large pool of professional actors and technicians to draw from in Los Angeles, but also because he apparently has a ready-made audience of pre-conditioned Ray Bradbury fans anxiously awaiting his latest work for the stage.

He professes not to understand why other established writers with yearnings toward the theatre don't produce their own plays with their own company. "Why shouldn't a writer take risks on his own work?" he asks. "I'm not the only writer who saves his money; besides, it doesn't cost that much. The fun I'm having is well worth it."

RECORDS

Benjamin Boretz

STRAVINSKY

On the most recent Columbia Stravinsky releases, the *déjà vu* that becomes an invention is a constantly recurrent experience, and just when a piece's external idea or scope seems most inevitably to preclude anything more than sheer musical entertainment or vaudeville, there invariably emerges a flash of imaginative insight that reshapes one's sense of the range of musical possibility. Stravinsky's appetite for composition is so voracious that he has never been able to leave any aspect of an idea unexamined, however seemingly trivial the task at hand, or to reassert a discovery previously made. Thus a first encounter with even the smallest previously unheard work from any period of his activity illuminates a unique aspect of his development, and leaves behind a sharp sonic image that cannot be generalized or subsumed into stylistic categories. Given the number of individual pieces on these records, therefore, the best one can hope to provide within the usual space limitations is a skeletal guide to help the reader "place" each work within the Stravinsky literature.

Zvezdoliki (Le roi des étoiles) 1911: An extraordinary take-off on the special resonance and sonority of Russian folk- and church-chorus singing (that "Don Cossack" sound also heard in the crowd scenes of *Boris*) which seems almost graphically to extend Moussorgsky's harmony into that of *Le Sacre*; it is *Sacre* of which one is constantly aware—even to the trills and mysterious, sustained orchestral chords in the second half—but what is arresting is the completely different quality this idiom projects through its concentrated distillation into a chordal choral texture, and stripped bare of the softening ornamentation, sonorous cushioning and long-range extension of the later ballet.

Anthem ("The dove descending." 1962): Here, at the other end of the Stravinsky chronology, the choral writing is transformed from the dark, dense, purely monolithic sonorous blocks of *Zvezdoliki* to a cool, lucent, pure polyphony that recalls Josquin. In fact, one suspects that the reference to Hercules' "shirt of flame" in the Eliot text should send one to the Josquin "Duke Hercules" mass for some of the nicer conceits, if Stravinsky is behaving characteristically on this occasion. The work itself is fascinating for its generation of the sense of a wide-ranging polyphonic rhythm and texture out of individual lines that move largely in even durations.

Chorale Variations ("Von Himmel hoch") 1939: In "realizing" Bach's Variations for orchestra (with chorus used as a contrasting timbre for the basic chorale melody), Stravinsky seems to have explored every suggestive possibility for orchestral articulation that could be extrapolated from Baroque organ style, and in so doing also discovered a "double variations" cycle latent in the structure of the work. Thus every section presents a different type of bass, inner-voice and upper-voice articulation whose combination results in a fresh orchestral sonority; and the movements alternate between the "solidity" of the bright, clear, horizontally wide-spaced sound of the first presentation of the chorale, and the sound first heard in the second variation, a filmy texture reminiscent of the Galliarde in *Agon*, that luminous intricate filigree whose

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bass resonances coat the entire sonority without overflowing it, leaving space for all the crystalline lines to interlace clearly against a background of "white" sound generated mainly by harp, plucked strings and woodwinds. Even the "tching" of Baroque harpsichord attack and the buzz of the trumpet stop on the organ become generative origins of new wind sounds in the final variation.

Babel 1944: This was Stravinsky's contribution to the notorious *Genesis* suite commissioned and assembled by the Hollywood composer Nathaniel Shilkret, for which Schoenberg composed the introductory "Chaos." *Babel* divides into four brief sections: an orchestral introduction which in its concept of the combination of narrative and instrumental music has a striking inner relation to Schoenberg's *Survivor from Warsaw;* a choral section whose chordal writing suggests the "Alleluia" of the *Symphony of Psalms* but seems even more a vocal evocation of the last page of the Symphony in C with its succession of specially voiced and mutated chords; an instrumental "Symphony in Three Movements" fugato that includes some sounds and textures heard nowhere else; and a postlude with a remarkable cadence. An extraordinary amount happens within its five minutes; yet it seems, for Stravinsky, a relatively undeveloped totality.

A Sermon, a Narrative, and a Prayer 1961: Still unperformed in New York, this is yet another of Stravinsky's mappings of an ideational succession onto a musical form: the "Sermon" is a series of fragmentary vignettes with a recurrent ritornello (like those of the *In Memoriam Dylan Thomas*, the 1951 Cantata, and *Threni*), a mosaic of textural patches; the "Narrative" contrasts the horizontal sectionalization of the first part with vertically separated, simultaneous "levels" (an idea further developed in *Abraham and Isaac*) whose tremolos and *ostinatos* also prefigure the *Flood;* the "Prayer" is the "integrative" resolution, ingenious in its reinterpretations of earlier elements into a continuous unity. Hearing *Sermon* first with the hindsight of Stravinsky's later work, one's impression is that is seems to propose ideas more fully realized in the *Flood* and *Abraham and Isaac*; but greater familiarity may alter one's feeling that its disparity of elements is not fully reconciled.

Scènes de Ballet 1944: Stravinsky's gift to Broadway is perhaps the purest of the distillations of style that characterized his music between the two big Symphonies in C and Three Movements. The "plotless ballet" idea seems to create a context free of extraneous tensions, in which a "choreographic" form is built from within by structuring musical elements in terms of dance successions without the distractions of *peripeteia* or "color." Under the apparent placidity lies a minutely complex and eventful structure, in which the "commercial" elements are made to conjoin with great subtlety; here as elsewhere, Stravinsky has not "borrowed" a sensibility from the musical *demimonde* to aggrandize his own work with its flavor, as much as "lent" it his prodigal sense for latent resources—which in *Scènes* created for Broadway and Billy Rose the imputation of an artistic elevation they scarcely envisioned or wanted.

The *Circus Polka* might be a movement of the *Scènes*, and even seems to borrow a few of its rhythmic and sonic ideas, but the woodwind calliope and the elephantine horn-bassoon-tuba-bass music are its own.

Jeu de Cartes 1937: There are probably more ideas about transition between contrasted materials in this work than in any other single composition, a conceit that reaches its exuberant height in demonstrating how to integrate materials even from such connotatively disparate and overfamiliar —and hence undetachable—contexts as Beethoven's *Fifth* and Rossini's *Barber*, which are not only brought into convincing relation to the whole but are made to seem to derive from each other as well. The performance, incidentally, is much the best played on these records.

Greeting Prelude 1955: If anyone might suppose that "Happy Birthday" was an unlikely source for serious composition, the *Greeting Prelude* makes it seem in retrospect the suggestive equal of, say, *"Wachet auf"* of the Schiller *Ode to Joy*—and it does so in fifty superbly deployed seconds of playing time.

Dumbarton Oaks Concerto 1938: Although the *Dumbarton Oaks* is billed as one of the "favorite short pieces" on that curiously titled record, it is actually a fully developed essay in Brandenburg-Concerto continuity and texture; in the first movement, nuance and articulation come through a foreground of ticking regularity within an almost uniform registral box from start to finish; in the second, the up-and-down "knitting" of Bach instrumental tunes becomes a structure of proliferating rhythmic angles; and in the finale, a "basso continuo" becomes a march of even impulses whose constantly changing surroundings make its accentuation and tempo seem perpetually to shift. Like the *Scènes*, it is one of the most refined of Stravinsky's inventions.

Eight Instrumental Miniatures 1961: From *Pulcinella* on, Stravinsky has heard new music in old, and now his own "old" music has become such a source; his insights are a kind of super-performance that reveal a range of different sounds and articulations within the little *Cinq Doigts* piano pieces that will surely astonish its small performers and shame most of its large ones. The Suites Nos. 1 and 2 were originally the Eight Easy Pieces for piano four hands, and are "genre" pictures of the Ravel-Debussy kind made sharp-edged and unsentimentally "formal," thus materially improving the genre as well as demonstrating

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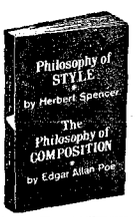

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what can be done with only a few notes and scraps of tune. The Waltz, with its wonderfully timed stops, is an especially happy idea, and the Galop reverses the usual historical procedure by anticipating Broadway-Hollywood musical style in its energetic and mechanical "verve."

Space precludes even a minimal discussion of the new recording of *The Rake's Progress*, beyond the assurances that the work is one of the few authentic music-dramatic masterpieces ever composed; that listeners will be much better able to discover this if they pay less attention to the skin of neo-Classic number-form and the irregular text-setting, and follow instead the progress of the first two notes sung by Ann through the work (especially to their return as the first two notes of her Lullaby) as well as the real energy of the prosodic rhythm; and finally that the recording is superior in several important respects to the old Metropolitan production.

It ought also to be noted that, except for the Cleveland Orchestra's *Jeu de Cartes*, the playing on these records generally falls far short of the standard that one would regard as minimal for such crucial musical documents; in this, the works recorded by the Columbia Symphony are considerably worse than those played by the CBC orchestra, but the latter's contributions are marred by a serious tape-speed problem that sometimes creates an obtrusive pitch differential between successive pieces. And too many other signs of careless assemblage emerge for either the listener's comfort or the honor of Columbia's intentions.

Stravinsky Conducts Favorite Short Pieces: Greeting Prelude; *Dumbarton Oaks* Concerto; Eight Instrumental Miniatures; Four Etudes for Orchestra; Circus Polka; Suites Nos. 1 and 2 for Small Orchestra. Columbia Symphony Orchestra. Columbia ML 6048/MS 6648.

Stravinsky Conducts Ballet Music: *Jeu de Cartes;* Tschaikowsky (*Bluebird*) Pas de deux (arr. Stravinsky); *Scènes de Ballet.* Columbia ML 6049/MS 6649.

Stravinsky Conducts His Choral Music: *Zvezdoliki* (*Le roi des étoiles*) Anthem (T.S. Eliot); Bach-Stravinsky Chorale Variations on "Von Himmel hoch"; *Babel* (Cantata); *A Sermon, a Narrative, and a Prayer.* Columbia ML 6047/MS 6647.

The Rake's Progress. Judith Raskin, Alexander Young, John Reardon, Regina Sarfaty. Royal Philharmonic. Sadlers Wells Opera Chorus. Columbia M3L 310/M3S 710.

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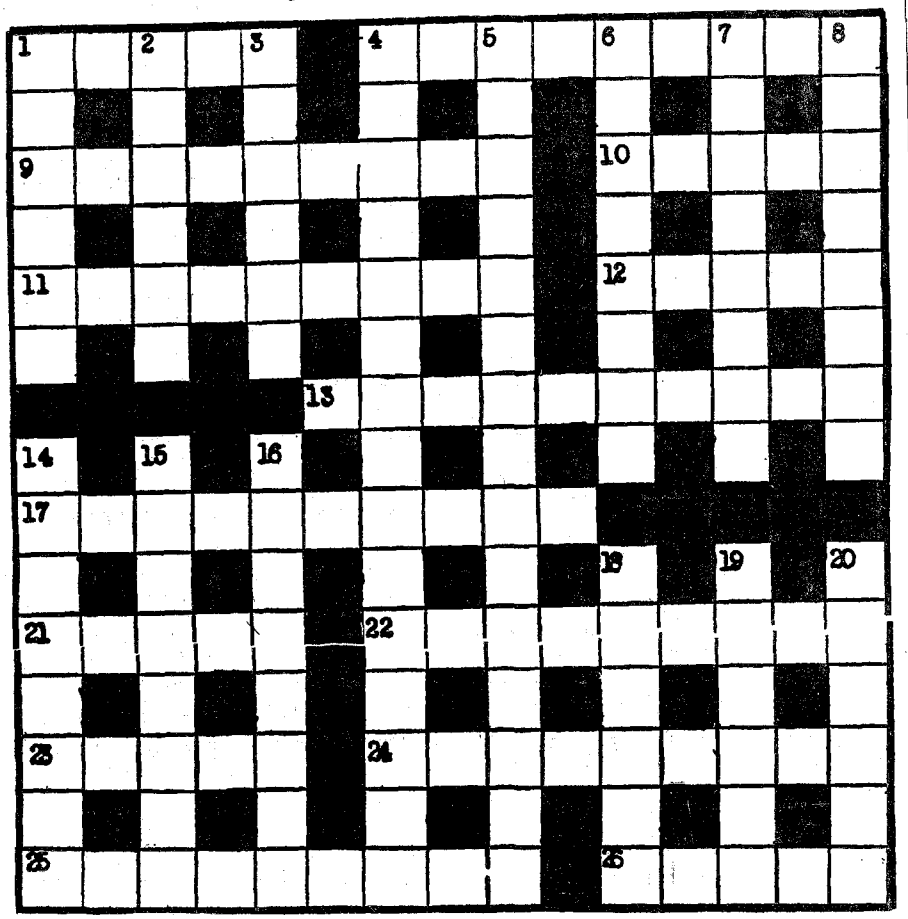
Crossword Puzzle No. 1090

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 and 18 down McNamara's band, possibly, unlike Venus' description makes. (5, 6)
4 In the balance, this should be sharp. (5-4)
9 Isn't quite honest, if in deceptive equipment, colloquially. (9)
10 Does such a dance make a feller's partner work, if short? (5)
11 Might acknowledge what goes to the bank and tests the water. (5, 4)
12 Apparently strange in "The Erie Canal." (5)
13 Rolls on these, possibly, when a darner is mixed up in what kids have to do at school. (5,5)
17 One should be used to serving under a dictator. (10)
21 Earlier, a religious man. (5)
22 Prepare the way in return to speak well, and dry up! (9)
23 How can anyone consider this land beautiful! (5)
24 Such apparel implies something to behold in material construction.
25 Proving Thaddeus the abolitionist gets on with Robert the writer. (9)
26 Move rapidly, like ebbing oceans.

DOWN:

1 Pretend to move. (6)
2 One who might make a meal of the playwright, perhaps. (6)
3 Slings punches and slugs, for example. (6)
4 They clicked in "A Tale of Two Cities." (8, 7)
5 Talking back in my youth was enough for it, but perhaps it requires more now! (15)
6 Possibly she'd gage such folk to have high brows. (8)
7 Descriptive of Electra at her best? (7)
8 A standout feature of the modern coffee houses' press of business? (8)
14 Not everyone takes to the air above their drones. (8)
15 An old rake might be associated with chaff. (8)
16 Have arms with a longer reach, and therefore not argue, possibly. (8)
18 See 1 across
19 Is it normal to cry at a bull-fight? Word of honor! (6)
20 Came across to scuttle a type of acting? (6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1089

ACROSS: 1 Palaver; 5 and 9 Primary color; 10 Overthrow; 11 Encourage; 12 Rower; 13 Storage; 15 Diocese; 17 Desists; 19 Cremona; 23 Nevermore; 25 Enactment; 26 Noise; 27 Treacle; 28 Drovers. DOWN: 1 Pickets; 2 Lilaceous; 3 Virtu; 4 Rootage; 5 Pretend; 6 Interpose; 7 and 21 Arrowsmith; 8 Yew tree; 14 Aesthetic; 16 Economize; 17 Descent; 18 Sincere; 19 Coveted; 20 Ageless; 22 Inane; 24 Rondo.

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